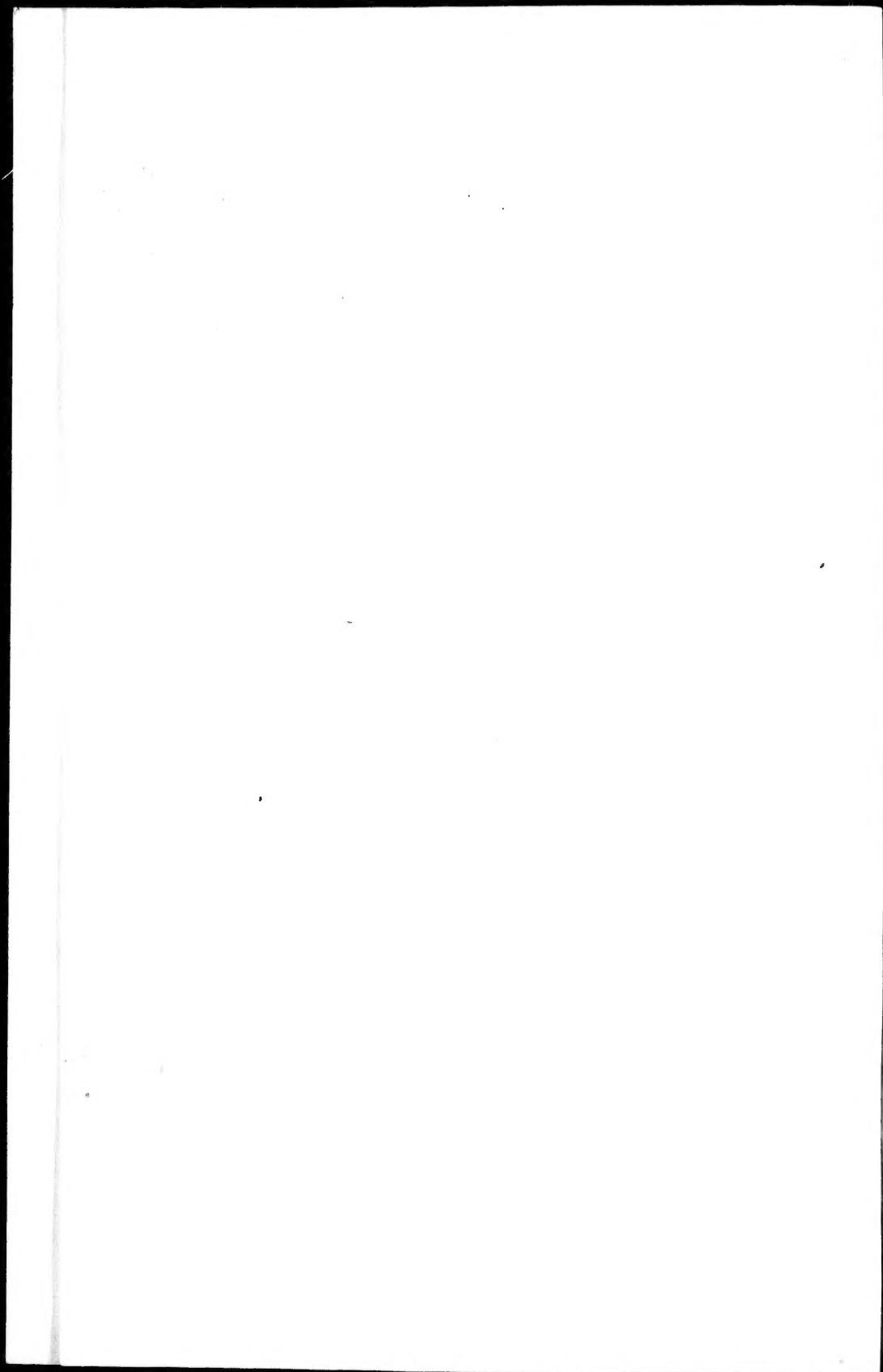




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A SHORT REVIEW
OF THE
HISTORY, GOVERNMENT, CONSTITUTION,
FISHERY AND AGRICULTURE,
OF
NEWFOUNDLAND.

In a Series of Letters

ADDRESSED TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL GREY,

Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

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**By PATRICK MORRIS, Esq.**  
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St. JOHN'S, Newfoundland :

J. WOODS, PRINTER,

MDCCCXLVII.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL GREY,

Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MY LORD,—

I hope you will pardon the liberty I have taken, in addressing to your Lordship the following observations on the state of Newfoundland.

Your Lordship's extensive knowledge on every subject appertaining to the Maritime, Colonial, and Mercantile affairs of the great Empire in whose councils you have already taken so distinguished a part—the deep interest you have felt at all times in promoting the best interests of the Colonies—the broad, wise, and liberal system of Colonial policy you have advocated and carried out, but above all, the hereditary zeal you have displayed in extending to them the greatest of all human blessings, English Laws, and free British Institutions, emboldened me to express to your Lordship with freedom, and at the same time with the most profound respect, my views on the state of England's oldest, loyal, and most valuable Colony of Newfoundland.

It has ~~no doubt~~ escaped your recollection, that in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, your distinguished relative Sir GEORGE GREY, gave me a letter of introduction to your Lordship; my object at that time was to bring the subject of the waste lands of Newfoundland under your Lordship's consideration. The kind, condescending manner in which your Lordship heard my views then, is another reason that induces me on the present occasion to address you.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's humble

And obedient servant,

PATRICK MORRIS.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

It was the intention of the writer of the subjoined observations on the GOVERNMENT, FISHERIES, AND AGRICULTURE OF NEWFOUNDLAND, to have added explanatory notes with an appendix, to have contained a variety of original documents having reference to the persevering exertions that were made in obtaining a reform in the Jurisprudence of the Colony, liberty to cultivate the soil, and a Local Representative Government. He further intended to have reviewed in a fourth letter, the proceedings of the General Assembly from the year of its establishment, 1832, to the close of the session of the Amalgamated Legislature, and the retirement of His Excellency Sir JOHN HARVEY from the Government in 1846. To carry out these views would require more time and attention than he could at present devote to the subject; he must therefore defer to another, and he hopes not distant period, the completion of his original intention. His main object, in putting forth his crude opinions to the public on subjects so far above his powers, at this time, is to endeavour to draw the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the anomalous position in which the British Fisheries of Newfoundland are placed, by the competition of foreigners, and likewise to the unaccountable, and in his opinion unwise and impolitic neglect of the settlement and colonization, of the earliest, and what he firmly believes the most valuable transatlantic Colony belonging to the British Crown.

In his observations on the important question of the Fisheries and Colonization, he has attempted to prove two or three main propositions.

First.—That the cause of having the Fisheries of Newfoundland so often recklessly huxtered and bartered by successive Ministers, arose from the acts of the British Mercantile Adventurers in preventing the settlement of the country at an early period. Newfoundland was a dependency of England, her only Colony, a century before Massachusetts, New York, or Virginia, emerged from barbarism. When the "untutored Indian," uncontrouled by civilized man, roamed through these now busy marts, redundant with wealth, population, and all the advantages of civilization, Newfoundland was resorted to by thousands of British, French, Spaniards, and Portuguese, and countless millions were drawn from her mines far more valuable than those of Mexico and Peru.—No one who reflects upon the subject can entertain the slightest doubt, that if due encouragement were given to settlement instead of prohibiting it, if the same privileges had been extended to Newfoundland, that were so freely given to the other Colonies, were the first emigrants allowed and encouraged to settle and cultivate the soil, to manage their local affairs in their own way, a population would have grown up, the wealth and capital of the country would have increased, it would have attained an influence that would have prevented her just and natural rights from being sacrificed to foreigners. It is therefore the monopolizing, selfish policy of the Adventurers, preventing the settlement and occupation of the country by their own countrymen, that has been the cause of the present unnatural state of things—the Fisheries transferred into the hands of the French and Americans, and their own long-cherished monopoly annihilated.

The second proposition attempted to be proved is, that the bounty and other protection extended by the French

and American Governments to their subjects engaged in the Newfoundland Fisheries, operate indirectly against the interests of the British, and sap the foundation of their Fisheries, were it not for the auxiliary support the British were enabled to obtain by the cultivation of the soil, they must have been surrendered altogether to their protected rivals. The best proof of this is, the transfer of the Deep Sea Fishery on the Grand Bank, and the other Banks some distance from the shore. Thousands of ships belonging to the French and Americans are engaged in the Deep Sea Fishery; there is not one British ship fitted out for the Bank Fishery; in former times it gave employment to near five hundred sail of ships from one hundred to two hundred tons burthen, and from six to eight thousand seamen.

The third proposition which has been attempted to be proved is, that to preserve that portion of the Fisheries left to the British, encouragement should be given to the general cultivation of the soil; the union of fishing and farming has preserved the portion of the Fishery that remains in the hands of the British. Mr. McGREGOR, of the Board of Trade, with his usual depth and sagacity, fully bears out the truth of this statement when he says—

“That were it not for the auxiliary support which the inhabitants of Newfoundland derived from the cultivation of the soil, they could not have subsisted by the productions of the Fisheries alone. And as they otherwise would have to remove to the neighbouring Colonies, or to the United States, the probable consequence would be, that the Americans and French would before this have enjoyed the benefit of expelling us altogether from supplying foreign markets with fish.”—*McGregor's British America.*

The inshore Fishery prosecuted in small open boats, is the only Fishery left to the British; that Fishery must have eventually passed likewise from their hands, were it not for the auxiliary support which the fishermen were enabled to obtain by the cultivation of the soil. It cannot be too often repeated that the effect of French and Ame-

rican bounties to their Newfoundland Fisheries is to undermine the British Fisheries altogether, had they to rest upon their own bottom. Had the British Fishery remained on its ancient footing, left to support itself, it would long ago have ceased altogether as a mercantile remunerative employment for British capital and enterprise, and have passed altogether into the hands of the French and Americans. To show the working of the French system of bounties in their Newfoundland Fisheries, and to prove the hopelessness of competition on the part of the British Merchant and Fisherman, it is only necessary to exhibit a statement of the outfit and returns of a French ship of three hundred tons on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, procured by a gentleman who recently arrived from St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the results of the last season's voyage of 1846 :—

Vessels of 150 tons from France are obliged to bring out 30 men and boys, one boy under 15 years of age to every ten men.

Vessels over 150 tons are obliged to bring out 50 men and boys.

The bounty on every man and boy is 50 francs, and on fish 10 francs.

Boys receive as wages 50 francs for the season. Men receive a portion of the voyage and from 50 to 100 francs each. The voyage is divided by three, two thirds to the owners, and one third to the crew. The master in addition to his wages, which vary from 70 to 100 francs per month, receives two men's share of fish; for example, one ship in 1846 landed 132,000 fish, equal to 5,280 quintals, with a crew of 18 men.

$$\frac{5,280}{3} = 1,760 \div 20 = 88 \text{ Quintals each man.}$$

Owner's share, two thirds of voyage,	3,520 Qtls.
Boys' share,	264 —
	— 3,784
15 Men's share, 88 quintals each,	1,320
Master's share, equal to 2 men's,	176
	— 1,496
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Quintals.....	5,280

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RETURN OF THE VOYAGE TO THE OWNER.

	<i>Francs.</i>
3,784 Quintals fish at 10 francs	37,840
Bounty on ditto at 10 francs	37,840
Bounty on men and boys, 50 francs each	900
Oil—1 gallon to every 4 qtls. fish, at 2 francs per gallon	2,140
	<u>78,720</u>
Equal to.....	Stg. £3,280

According to this statement, the French Merchant obtains in the form of bounty, 10 francs, say 8s. 4d. sterling, which, with the bounties for the men and boys, and the drawbacks on the necessaries for the supply of the voyage, raises it to at least 10s. stg. per quintal. If he obtains 10s. for the fish at market it will realize 20s. per quintal. Let the case of the British Merchant, who fits out a ship for the Grand Bank, be placed in juxtaposition; he has to sell his fish in the markets of the world, open alike to both, the price is regulated for him by the sale of the bounty fish of the French. He receives 10s., while the French Merchant realizes 20s. Such disparity puts an end to all competition, the British Merchant, as a matter of necessity, had to surrender the Fishery altogether into the hands of his protected rivals. In the year 1838, the writer had the honour of an interview with Sir GEORGE GREY, at the Colonial Office. In bringing this subject under his consideration, he supposed an example of *two* cloth manufacturers, having warehouses for the sale of their wares at Cheapside, one had a bounty of 5s. per yard for every yard of cloth he manufactured, the other no bounty; the competition could not be maintained without a ruinous sacrifice on the part of the latter. This is not an inapt simile to show the ruinous competition which the British in the Newfoundland Fisheries have to maintain with their foreign and more favoured rivals.

The injurious consequences to the British Fisheries of French and American monopoly, do not end in sweeping away every British ship from the Grand Bank and Deep Sea Fishery; its effects are felt in the inshore fishery.—

VIII.

The price of the million quintals of fish—the annual produce of the British Newfoundland Fishery—is reduced 5s. to 8s. per quintal, the certain consequences of the French and American bounties. The protected fish of the French and Americans is sold in the same markets with the British, the supply is increased beyond the demand. There is a necessity arising from that cause, and that cause alone, of selling it below its intrinsic value. It may appear an exaggerated statement, but it is no less true on that account, that there is a sacrifice of from two to three hundred thousand pounds annually of British industry and capital in the sale of British produce of the Fisheries, arising from the effects of French and American bounties; this can be as clearly demonstrated as the simplest proposition in Euclid. The principle contended for is, that fish cannot be caught, and cured, and sold, leaving the usual mercantile profit, at a price less than from 16s. to 17s. The French can sell theirs at 8s. 6d., receiving a large amount of bounty. The British fish has to contend for sale in the same markets, the sellers are necessitated to submit to the reduction in price at the immense sacrifice that has been stated.

It is necessary to remark, that it is not so much the vast extent of coast that has been ceded to foreigners to the exclusion of British subjects that is so much complained of, though for the people of a country to be denied the right of catching fish on their own coast, and the better part of it, the more valuable given up to foreigners, would in itself form the materials for grounding a *handsome* grievance upon, and no doubt in due time will be made use of for that purpose. The bounties operate in the most ruinous manner on the best interests of Newfoundland, and will continue to do so until they are withdrawn. The Newfoundland British fisheries, without protection or bounty, cannot contend with the foreign Newfoundland Fishery, bolstered up by every description of protection, and by enormous bounties.

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The French and Americans having taken possession of the Grand Bank and all the other productive Banks, it may be said they have extended lines of circumvalation and contravalation round the Island, preventing the ingress or egress of fish to and from the shore ; and according to the opinions of those best qualified to judge, greatly injuring the inshore fishery, the only fishery left to British subjects, and that only to a portion of the Island. The French have adopted a new mode of fishing on the Banks, their vessels anchor, which was not allowed in former times, they have also adopted what is called the Bultow system, and which is clearly explained in a memorial presented by Messrs MUDGE & Co., to the late Governor of Newfoundland, SIR JOHN HARVEY.

" That the Bultow system is carried on in the following manner:—The vessel is provided with two or three large boats, of a size fit to carry out, at considerable distances, large supplies of rope and line, with moorings and anchors sufficient to ride at anchor on the open Bank in rough weather. These boats carry out from five to six thousand fathoms of rope to which are fastened leads, with baited hooks at certain distances from each other. These are carried out from the vessel in different directions and let down and secured with suitable moorings, to prevent their being carried away by the strong currents that usually prevail on the Bank. They are then laid out at stated distances from each other, with several thousand hooks well baited, and frequently occupy several miles of ground. On the next day they are taken up and overhauled—the fish taken off—and, if the berth is approved, the hooks fresh baited and let down again, and thus successively during the voyage. But should the berth in which they have anchored not prove a good one, they heave up and sail about to make another, in doing which, if they chance to see an English vessel catching fish freely with hook and line, they anchor near her and lay out their Bultows, which, spreading so large a quantity of bait, the fish are soon drawn thereby from the few caplin presented by the English vessel, and the latter is therefore obliged to heave up and sail away from the good fishing ground, to find a berth elsewhere: so that not only does the English vessel lose the good fishing in which she was engaged, but the most valuable part of the season is often lost in wandering about to find a new berth clear of the French ships ; for they

are so numerous, and each covers with its Bultows so large a space, that it would be difficult to keep clear of them, and any place near them it is, for the reasons above stated, useless to attempt occupying; so that in effect the French have monopolized to themselves all the best fishing ground.

"Your Memorialists' vessel fell in with one of these Bultows, which had gone adrift, measuring 1,500 fathoms."

Messrs. Mudge & Co. brought under the consideration of His Excellency the right of the French ships to anchor on the Banks. The opinions expressed by the Messrs. Mudge & Co. on this head, are those generally entertained by those acquainted with the mode of fishing previous to the late war. They state in their memorial that—

"They would beg to remark, that neither during the two or three years succeeding the peace of 1815, nor during the former peace, did the French vessels on the Banks come to an anchor there, or use the ground lines commonly called Bultows, as they do now, but they fished from the decks of the vessels, as did the British, and your Memorialists and others always supposed they were precluded by Treaty from anchoring."

The destructive plan of fishing by Bultows is clearly a novelty. Opposed to the ancient mode, is it not opposed to the spirit of the Treaty of Utrecht, the basis of all subsequent Treaties on the subject of the Newfoundland Fisheries? The 13th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht states—

"That the method of carrying on the Fishery which has at all times been acknowledged, shall be the plan upon which the fishery shall be carried on there, it shall not be deviated from by either party."

It is stated by those acquainted with the ancient mode of carrying on the Bank Fishery—

"That in former times if a British cruizer found a French ship anchored on the Banks, she would make a prize of her."

The new mode of carrying on the Bank Fishery by the French, presents a subject for serious enquiry. If by human means it is possible to destroy the fishery altogether, the Bultow system appears the best calculated of any other for that object. The writer was favoured with a memo-

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random made by Mr. Oke, the intelligent commander of the Revenue Cruizer employed on the Western coast this season, and who furnished other important information on the same subject, and which he has used without acknowledgment :—

“ MEMORANDUM.

“ There is much difference of opinion as to whether or not the Bank Fishery, as at present prosecuted by the French, is injurious to the Shore Fishery. I am fully persuaded that it is, and for the following reasons:—

“ 1st—I have now in my possession twenty French Bank hooks taken out of fish caught in a trip of about as many quintals at Cape St. Mary's, in July.

“ 2d—It has been remarked that whenever the Bank Fishery commences early, the Shore Fishery on the S. W. coast is invariably bad, and when late the reverse. In 1846, from a variety of causes (and one of considerable importance, the obstacle thrown in the way of procuring bait,) the French were unusually late on the Banks, the voyage inshore was the best for many seasons previous. This spring, perhaps the French were never so early, and the voyage at Cape St. Mary's and along the S. W. coast will turn out bad in the extreme. Besides, when it is taken into account that it is not unusual for a French Banker to have 10,000 fathoms of Bultow line, and 140 first class vessels on the Grand Bank, and 200 small craft on St. Pierre Bank at a time, it is but reasonable to suppose that a large quantity of it is thus prevented from coming in with the shore.

“ The Bultow is not allowed to be used in the neighbourhood of St. Pierre or Miquelon, and French vessels not landing and curing their fish at St. Pierre or Miquelon, are not permitted to take bait at any of the French Islands.”

It is not of the French rivalry that the British engaged in the Newfoundland Fishery have to complain, the Americans are equally injurious in their rivalry, and more unreasonable, notwithstanding the great privileges they enjoy in the Fishery of Newfoundland, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all along the British coast, they prohibit by excessive duties the import of British fish into their ports, though by the wise and liberal measures of the British Government, their produce is admitted on the most favourable terms into Newfoundland. At this time, Newfoundland

is an open market for them, for their provisions and much of their manufactures. The imports of American produce in American and British bottoms, do not amount to much less than from two hundred to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum. With the Newfoundland Fisheries thrown open to them for the employment of their marine, with the Newfoundland market freely thrown open to them for the consumption of their provisions and manufactures, with a miserable jealousy they prohibit by excessive duties the imports of British caught Newfoundland fish.

The swarms of American ships and shallops that infest the British shores during the fishing season, is graphically pourtrayed by G. R. YOUNG, Esq., of Halifax, Nova Scotia, in his able letters to Mr. STANLEY, now Lord STANLEY, in which the whole subject of the Fishery is handled in a manner that the writer of these observations cannot pretend to imitate, but which he would recommend to the perusal of those who would wish to be informed on the subject of the Fisheries. Mr. Young in reference to the American Fisheries, says—

“As early as the month of March, if any stranger approached the coasts of Nova Scotia, his observations would induce him to believe that he was advancing to the territory of some great commercial state. At a short distance from the shore, and on the Banks and most productive fishing grounds, he would perceive fleets or continuous lines of small shallops; and if the day and season were auspicious, he would discover that their crews were busily employed in drawing forth the treasures of the deep. Seeing them thus anchored, within view, nay, within almost the shadow of the shore, and employed in appropriating the resources which would appear to belong to it, the deduction would be irresistible that they had recently left the neighbouring harbours, and were manned by their inhabitants. He would, however, be in error. On enquiry he would learn, that they have come a distance of three hundred miles, to avail themselves of the privilege—that they belonged to a rival state, and that they enjoyed the right by virtue of a treaty, which the Government have bestowed without necessity and without return. He would learn also, that this liberal concession was highly disadvantageous to the

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inhabitants on the coast by lessening the productiveness of the fishing grounds."

Proof has been added that the Fishery of New England was first established by Fishermen brought from Newfoundland. They soon added to it the Whale Fishery. Taking the American Whale Fishery and Cod Fishery together, it gives employment to an immense marine. The American Fisheries have increased, the British Fishery is allowed to sink to comparative insignificance. In 1775 the American Fishery was the theme of Mr. BURKE's unrivalled eloquence.

"What," he said, "in the world is equal to it; pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the Whale Fishery, whilst we follow them amongst the tumbling mountains of ice, we behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of the Hudson's Bay and Davis Straits, whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic circle, we hear they have proceeded into the opposite region of Polar cold, that they are at the Antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South; Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of rational ambition, is but a step and resting place in the progress of their victorious industry; nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging than the accumulated winter of both the Poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue the gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed with their Fisheries, no climate that is not witness to their toils; neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people—a people who are still as it were but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood."

An estimate may be formed of the extent and importance of the American Whale Fishery, at the present time, from the following extract of a speech of a member of Congress, in 1844—

"I have prepared with great care a table from authentic sources to show the consumption of domestic and foreign articles by our whaling fleet, now consisting of 650 ships, Larques and schooners,

tonnaging 200,000 tons, cost at the time of sailing \$20,000,000, manned by 17,500 officers and seamen.

" This fleet of whaling ships is larger than ever pursued the business before, commercial history furnishes no account of any parallel; our ships now outnumber those of all other nations combined, and the proceeds of its enterprise in proportion, and diffused in every part of our country. The voyage of those engaged in the sperm fishery average three and a half years. They search every sea, and often and often cruise three and four months with a man at each mast-head on the look out, without the cheering sight of a whale. The fleet is manned by 17,500 Americans, they are hardy, honest and patriotic, and will, as they did the last war, stand by their country when in danger; they will man our ships and fight our battles on the ocean should we ever again have to resort to war to maintain our rights, they, with the other seamen of our country, will be the right arm of our defence."—*Speech of the Hon. Mr. Gremvett, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, House of Representatives, 1844.*

Estimating the number of men engaged in the Cod Fishery at 37,000, and adding them to the number employed in the Whale Fishery, gives an aggregate amount of 54,500 men employed in the American Fisheries, chiefly in the deep sea fishery, the best nursery for hardy and able seamen. What a contrast it forms to the British Fisheries, greatly limited, and confined almost exclusively to an inshore fishery in small open boats not calculated to make seamen, is it too much to say that the Newfoundland Fisheries instead of being a nursery for British, is the very best nursery for French and American seamen. Were it possible for Burke to appear again on the stage, would he not, in denouncing the policy that deprives England of the Fisheries, that powerful arm of her maritime strength, and transfers it to foreigners, use language that would surpass in eloquence and force that most brilliant passage in his speech of 1775 on the subject of the Fisheries. The undisguised object of the Americans is to attain maritime strength, no matter at what cost or sacrifice of principle. It is difficult to account for the apathy with which the British Government looks on, while the Americans

and French are making such a handle of the Fisheries to increase their marine. The Americans have already boasted that their mercantile marine equals that of England. In a debate in the United States Senate on the Oregon Question, it was said—

"We have at this time a commerce of 2,417,000 tons of shipping, England has 2,420,000 tons, so that we are nearly, nay, it is my opinion, we are completely on a par with her. I doubt, Sir, whether England has a greater commercial marine, or greater interests to protect than we. If so, I would like to know in what it consists; we have now 700 whale ships in the Pacific ocean; we have an extensive Indian commerce, and a great and daily growing commerce with China."—*Speech of Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, on the Oregon Question, Senate United States, Feby. 12th, 1846.*

Making due allowance for the exaggerations and gasconade of American orators, it must be admitted that their marine has rapidly increased and is increasing; at the same time it may be said, their Fisheries are their main resource for their seamen, the other branches of trade are supplied mainly by foreign seamen, is it not, therefore, too bad that the Fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland, and in nearly all the British waters, should be surrendered into their hands? If there is one object of ambition more than another, that predominates in the American breast, it is the hope of disputing with England the dominion of the ocean. That time is, it is to be hoped, far distant; as it has been before said, "the union in one of vast territorial and maritime power would be most dangerous to the welfare and liberties of the world."

The policy that sanctions the total neglect of the British Fisheries of Newfoundland, and gives the advantages of them to the French, and more particularly to the ambitious American Republic, cannot be condemned in language too strong. To the writer of these hasty remarks the policy appears inexplicable and unaccountable. He has already given a host of authorities to prove the value, in a national point of view, of the Fisheries of Newfoundland, as a main support of the navigation of the British

Empire, and as a principal source of the maintenance of England's maritime power. Every means that conduces to that object ought, in the eye of the British statesman, to command paramount importance, such was the opinion of one of England's greatest trade Ministers, the lamented HUSKISSON, in his speech on the navigation of the United Kingdom, in 1826, he said—

“Lastly, the necessities of preserving our ascendancy on the ocean, and thereby sustaining the high station in the rank of nations, which that ascendancy more than any other circumstance has given to this country.

“Entertaining these opinions, I am as ready as any man can possibly be, to say that it is our duty on all occasions to look to the peculiar nature of this state necessity, and that whenever the interests of commerce and navigation cannot be reconciled, the policy which ought to be uppermost in our minds should be, (I, Sir, have no hesitation in stating it to be my feeling,) that the interests of commerce in all such instances ought to give way, and those of navigation to have the preference.”

The French and Americans prosecute the Newfoundland Fisheries at an immense outlay, not as a profitable commercial employment, but as a nursery for their marine, for the extension of their navigation, to enable them to compete, at some future day, with England for the dominion of the ocean. The Americans look forward to such a time—such an object is openly avowed by them—the seamen nursed in their fisheries can alone enable them to make the attempt. To strengthen these observations, it is only necessary again to quote from the speech of the same illustrious man, on the state of the navigation of the United Kingdom :—

“When I am speaking of that nation in a British House of Commons, it is not improper to say, that in matters of navigation and naval power, there exists towards us a spirit of rivalry in the United States, a spirit of which I do not complain, but should incline every Englishman to doubt the wisdom of any measure tending to encourage the growth of the commercial marine of America, by giving to it privileges greater than are permitted to the shipping of other states, less jealous of our maritime ascendancy in time of war, and at all times confining their

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views upon the ocean to the industrious employment of their seafaring people, without looking to the ulterior object of one day disputing with us the dominion of the ocean."

The ulterior object of America is, to dispute with England the dominion of the ocean. Such was the opinion of Mr. Huskisson, is it good policy to allow them and the French to monopolize the Deep Sea Fishery of Newfoundland, the first and best nursery for seamen in the world?

It is a strange fact, that since the report of the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1816, which strongly recommended the exposed state of the fisheries to the consideration of the Government, the slightest notice has not been taken in Parliament of the important subject, since the Peace, except by the late member for Waterford, the patriotic and indefatigable Sir JOHN NEWPORT, I believe, in 1815, and at a later period by G. R. ROBINSON, Esq., when member for Worcester. Mr. ROBINSON brought the subject repeatedly under the consideration of Parliament; he did not succeed in obtaining that attention from the Government which the subject demanded. The people of Newfoundland owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. ROBINSON for the able and persevering manner in which he advocated their interests, on the subject of the fisheries, and all other subjects.

St. John's, Newfoundland, September, 1847.

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LETTER I.

Newfoundland from 1497 to 1832.

“Half a century of Freedom, within the circuit of a few miles of Rock, brings to perfection more of the greatest qualities of our nature, displays more fully the capacity of man, exhibits more examples of heroism and magnanimity, and emits more of the divine light of Poetry and Philosophy, than thousands of years, and millions of people, collected in the greatest empire of the world, can ever accomplish under the eclipse of despotism.”—*Lord JOHN RUSSELL'S Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution.*

MY LORD,—

NEWFOUNDLAND is England's earliest transatlantic possession, its colonization contemporaneous with the discovery of the New World, was the germ of her vast Colonial Empire, the source of her maritime greatness, the first nursery for the hardy and brave seamen who gained for England the dominion of the ocean, and with it the trade of the world. (*See Appendix A.*)

Newfoundland with her fisheries, as it is the oldest, is likewise the most valuable, and it may be added the most neglected of England's Colonies. If the value of Newfoundland is to be estimated by the price put upon it by Legislatures, Ministers, Statesmen, and Philosophers, it surpasses all other Colonies in the world. If we are to judge by the policy hitherto adopted by England, it has been neglected in the inverse ratio of its importance. It will not be denied that the Newfoundland

Fisheries were a great nursery for seamen, a profitable source of trade; it will not be questioned that they greatly contributed to the maritime power of England, "with her present vast dominion and unbounded resources." This trade, fishery, and nursery for seamen, is diminished to a mere speck in the horizon; yet it should not be forgotten that it was the first, and it is not too much to say, one of the principal sources from whence that mighty power has flowed.

The rivals of England, France and America, are making powerful efforts, and expending vast sums to strengthen their maritime power, by the same means, the prosecution of the Newfoundland fisheries. If we are to judge by the neglect and apathy of England on the subject, the Newfoundland fisheries are to be surrendered altogether into their hands. Though such is not the intention, the result is inevitable—the fisheries of Newfoundland are now more nurseries for seamen for the French and Americans than for England.

It is my intention to enter into a discussion with your Lordship on the subject of Newfoundland, her Government, Fisheries, and Agriculture, to shew how the one has been neglected, how the others have been sacrificed. There are involved in the subject, not only Colonial, but vast Imperial interests.

It may be asked, if Newfoundland is of such high value as to have contributed to England's power, and that other nations are so anxious to share in the advantage of its trade and fisheries, why the Colony itself remains in a state of almost pristine barbarism, little more advanced in internal improvements than when discovered by Cabot in the reign of the 7th Henry? The answer is at hand, it is simply that Newfoundland has been ruled by a selfish, heartless, mercantile monopoly for upwards of three centuries. Her vast energies were crushed beneath a ruthless despotism—the interests of England were sacrificed—the interest of the Colony was sa-

erificed—every other interest but that of a few mercantile adventurers, truly was it said by Adam Smith "The cruelest of our revenue laws, I will venture to affirm, are mild and gentle in comparison to some of those which the clamours of our merchants and manufacturers have extorted from the Legislature, for the support of their own absurd and oppressive monopolies, like the laws of Draco, these laws may be said to be written in blood."

The Newfoundland code was an elaborate refinement on the mercantile system portrayed by Adam Smith.

The Rulers of Newfoundland imposed on, and deceived the Parent Government, who had given up the Colony body and bones to their "baneful domination."

Will it be believed at this time of day, that the most enlightened Government of the world gave up her most valuable Colony—the subject of contention and negotiation with Foreign Powers, in all the great treaties of modern times—to a few merchants residing in two or three English ports, who managed for such a length of time to engross the British fisheries to themselves, deluding the Parent Government by the most false representations, making them believe that a limited transitory fishery, precisely that fishery carried on by themselves, was the only fishery calculated to promote the trade of England, and to form a nursery for seamen.

Fully to carry out these views it was necessary farther to impose on the Government, by representing the soil and climate as raising an impassable barrier to the agricultural improvement of Newfoundland, and as if the eternal law of *Nature* was not able to right itself, they induced the Government to sanction enactments and rules to prohibit it. *Residence within the Colony was made a transportable offence. The cultivation of the soil a felony. (See Appendix B.)*

The history of despotism does not afford a parallel. A few ignorant men, for selfish purposes, permitted by the

Supreme Government to retard the developement of the resources of a great country. The British fisheries, the great nursery for seamen, the value of which the monopolists were continually ringing in the ears of the Home Government, as entirely dependent on this system, periodically sacrificed, bartered and sold to foreigners. In 1765, Sir Hugh Palliser said—"Such is the effect of the Newfoundland fishery running into monopoly, that the rest of the merchants, if they cannot have a monopoly likewise, will let the New England men, or Frenchmen, or any body run away with it."—*Report of Sir Hugh Palliser to Privy Council of Trade, Dec. 18, 1765.*

This desolating system, so long continued, was the cause why Newfoundland, an Island nearly as large as England, situate midway between the old and the new World, in a temperate latitude, containing a vast extent of cultivable land, capable of giving employment and sustenance to millions of inhabitants, surrounded on all sides by inexhaustible fishing grounds, is in its present unimproved state, the interior unknown and unexplored, and with some hundred thousand inhabitants, scattered on the margin of her shores. Newfoundland was placed altogether under the tender mercies of her mercantile rulers, and she has paid the penalty. But it is not only the Colonial, but likewise the Imperial interests have been sacrificed, the rules, ordinances and laws that were made for the government of Newfoundland, emanated altogether from the mercantile *code*. Concerning the Colonial trade observes Adam Smith, "the Merchants who carry it on, it must be observed, have been the principal advisers, we must not wonder therefore, if in the greater part of them, their interests have been more considered than either that of the Colonies or the Mother Country."

In the year 1791, the Parent Government at length began to think, that Newfoundland claimed some consideration as a colony. In that year the celebrated Mr. REEVES was sent thither on a mission, to report on the state of the

colony, local government, and laws. After having by great labour and industry, informed himself on the spot, of the working of the system, (*See Appendix C.*) he denounced it in the strongest terms, and recommended the establishment of a Supreme Judicature, based upon the principle of English law. An Act passed the British Parliament founded upon his views. Mr. Reeves having been appointed Chief Justice, presided for a short time over the Court to the universal joy of the resident inhabitants, but brought down upon himself the hatred and vengeance of the monopolists. For Chief Justice Reeves can be claimed the high honour of transplanting into the soil of Newfoundland the impartial spirit of British Justice.

Unfortunately the Judges who immediately succeeded Mr. Reeves, had not the ability, if they had the will, to carry out the principles he had established for the guidance of the Courts. Overawed by the power that so long prevailed, and possibly not feeling much repugnance to the summary system, the olden despotism was engrafted on the new Stock, the rules, proclamations, and orders were by the Judges adopted as laws, through the ignorance, if not the corruption of the men in whose hands the administration was placed. The people, for some years, were deprived of the good intended for them by the parent government; acts of great cruelty and injustice were perpetrated. The people of Newfoundland for some years suffered under the worst of all despotisms, that which usurps the forms while it tramples upon the noblest principles of English Law. (*See Appendix D.*)

In 1817, the late lamented Sir FRANCIS FORBES was appointed Chief Justice of Newfoundland; he consummated the system of English law introduced by Chief Justice Reeves. A quarter of a century elapsed from its introduction before its benefits were enjoyed. Sir Francis Forbes possessed all the qualities of a Judge, great acquirements, talents of the highest order, a profound know-

ledge and love of English law, and a determination to dispense it with justice and impartiality.

No sooner did he take his place upon the Bench of the Supreme Court, than the old despotic system, as if by magic, vanished before him. When it was attempted to make the rules, orders, and proclamations, have the force of laws; when tomes of them were heaped on the table of the Court, to the utter discomfiture of the advocates of the monopolists, he said he viewed them in no other light than as bundles of waste paper, which could not have the slightest authority with the Court. For the first time the people of Newfoundland discovered the whole system, under which they had so long been governed, to be a despotic usurpation of power, equally opposed to law, as to their inherent rights and privileges of British subjects. From this time, it may be said, the English code succeeded the mercantile code—the reign of the monopolist was no more.

In the year 1820, the exercise of summary power by two Surrogates in Conception Bay, in ordering corporeal punishment for what they termed contempt, roused the indignation and alarm of the inhabitants. Proceedings were introduced into the Supreme Court. This year presented the novelty of Judges being arraigned, and damages claimed for £1500, for such acts as were perpetrated by their predecessors for ages with impunity.

The Chief Justice, Forbes, at the same time that he condemned in the strongest terms the proceedings of the Judges, who he said, “ had grievously mistaken the true object of the power with which they were invested, admitted that it was impossible not to feel that great injustice had been done, and it was not the less hard because it was without remedy by law.”

The ignorance of the Judges was their protection; on this ground, Chief Justice Forbes directed the Jury to find a verdict for the defendants. In doing so they expressed “ their abhorrence of such an unmerciful and cruel punish-

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ment for so trifling an offence, as that which has been inflicted upon the unfortunate plaintiffs in this action."

The Judges in this case had greatly mistaken their powers, but they only did what was previously of every day occurrence. Captain BUCHAN and the Rev. Mr. LEE, the Judges in question, could have no malicious intention; the system, not the men, was to blame. Chief Justice Forbes adopted the proper course; he exposed and condemned the system which placed ignorant and incompetent men as Judges to dispense the abstruse science of the law, while he recommended the acquittal of the Judges, he adopted the very best course for the abrogation and condemnation of the anomalous system. (*See Appendix E.*)

The proceedings in these cases roused the inhabitants, and showed the necessity of more security for their liberty, their persons, and their property. Meetings were held. Petitions were proposed and adopted to his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament. The summary powers exercised by the Surrogates in the cases of *Butler* and *Landrigan*, were depicted in strong and eloquent colours. (*See Appendix F.*) A more improved system of Judicature, and the establishment of a local Legislature, similar to those granted to the other North American Colonies, were most earnestly prayed for. The Petition to His Majesty was transmitted through His Excellency Sir C. HAMILTON, the then Governor. It is only an act of justice to the tory Government of the day, the Colonial Department being presided over by Lord BATHURST and Mr. GOULBURN, the former as Principal and the latter Under Secretary, to say, that a prompt and most gracious reply was given. The summary powers exercised by the Surrogates were instantly abrogated, and severely condemned. It was admitted in the reply that the altered circumstances of the country required a more improved judicature. It discouraged the claims for a Colonial Legislature.

The Petition to the Lords was presented by the lamented Lord HOLLAND, that to the Commons by Sir JAMES

MACINTOSH. The just claims of Newfoundland were powerfully advocated by those great and good men, who were ably supported by Earl DARNLEY, Mr. HUME, Dr. LUSHINGTON, Sir JOHN NEWPORT, Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, and others. (*See Appendix G.*)

Earl Bathurst in the Lords, and Mr. Goulburn in the Commons, fully admitted the defects of the incongruous amphibious system of Judicature, promised a revision, strongly censured the infliction of corporeal punishment, but again discouraged all hopes of a representative local constitution. In 1824 Lord Bathurst introduced a Bill for the better administration of Justice in Newfoundland; it was drafted on a Bill, the outline of which had been prepared in Newfoundland, in which were contained many objectionable principles, and much of the olden despotic system. It was read a first and second time.

At that time there were two Delegates sent from Newfoundland, authorized by the Colonists to watch over the progress of the measure, and to guard as much as in them lay the interests of the Colony.

Mr. WILMOT HORTON, who succeeded Mr. Goulburn as Under Secretary for the Colonies, called upon the Delegates for their opinion, and at a meeting called at the Colonial Office submitted the Bill for their observation. In a very long discussion, the Delegates strongly objected to the unconstitutional principles embodied in the Bill. A Governor and Council, with Legislative powers, the country deprived of trial by Jury, no professional qualification for Judges, and some other provisions equally unconstitutional and objectionable. Mr. Wilmot Horton kindly and patiently heard all the objections, fully explained and defended the objectionable points, but did not give the slightest intimation of the ulterior views of the Government. The Delegates left Downing Street in despair, not expecting that any remonstrance from individuals so humble and so powerless, could have the effect of changing the intention of the Government. One of the Delegates wrote a letter to Mr.

Horton repeating the objections previously made, and a Petition was prepared to be presented against the Bill, on its second reading in the Lords. (*See Appendix H.*)

On the morning of the day which was set down for the second reading, the Delegates waited on Lord DARNLEY by appointment, with the petition he had promised to present. On the admission of the Delegates to Lord DARNLEY, they found him reading the printed copy of the Bill, which he had just received. His Lordship immediately said, that he could not find in the Bill those objectionable points which were the subject of complaint. Having a manuscript copy of the first draft, it was compared with the printed Bill, when it was found to their utter astonishment and delight, that all the objectionable parts were left out, and that every principle contended for by the Delegates was affirmed. The benevolent and kind hearted Lord DARNLEY appeared as delighted as the Delegates themselves, and asked if there was any necessity for the presentation of the petition. They of course said not, but requested his Lordship to express to Lord BATHURST and the Government, their unbounded gratitude and thanks for the invaluable privileges they were about conferring on the long neglected people of Newfoundland.

I have, my Lord, entered rather too much into detail in reference to this measure, though personally mixed up with the transaction, and feeling no small degree of satisfaction at the thought of contributing, in the slightest degree, to the attainment of so much good for the Colony of Newfoundland. My object is not to claim credit for the delegates, but to exhibit in the strongest light the conduct of the most mighty Government in the world, influenced in their acts by the representations of two obscure, unknown individuals, who could have no other claim to consideration than the justice of the cause which they so feebly, though so sincerely advocated.

It would have been well for the world, it would be well for England herself, if many such examples could be found,

The wise and just course adopted by the British Government on this occasion forms an exception, almost a solitary exception, to the rule that has influenced power in all ages and in all countries.

The Judicature Act of 1824, with the Charter founded upon it, was based upon the purest principles of English Law. It was, indeed, a mighty boon, it secured to the people of Newfoundland the concession of the greatest of human blessings, a pure administration of Justice, and Justice—according to the Laws of England.

The invaluable boon of British justice and English law conferred on the people of Newfoundland in 1824 by the Parent Government, was received by the people with the most lively gratitude, the new system of judicature was put into operation and presided over by the able, learned, and benevolent Chief Justice TUCKER, who framed rules and orders for the empannelling of Juries, and other regulations for the government of the Courts, on the most enlightened and liberal principles; all which were found admirably suited to the particular circumstances of the country. It was said, and said with truth, that in no part of His Majesty's dominions, could a poor man more readily obtain justice, and justice according to the principles of the matchless laws of England, than in his Majesty's Courts of Newfoundland, formed under the Royal Charter granted by his Majesty George IV. in that year.

In the year 1832, when Lord GODERICH, and your Lordship, presided over the Colonial Department, His late Majesty WILLIAM IV. was advised, and was graciously pleased to grant a constitution to Newfoundland, similar to those granted to the other North American Colonies. It must be acknowledged that from the year 1821, when the inhabitants brought their grievances clearly under the consideration of the parent Government, down to the present time, one continued series of wise, just, and beneficent measures, has been conceded by the parent Go-

vernment—it would be difficult to point out an example in the history of any other country, of so radical a change as that brought about within the last twenty-five years—a despotism of three hundred years has been changed for a system of perfect freedom. (*See Appendix I.*)

There is not more difference as respects the freedom of the people, between England and Turkey, than there is between Newfoundland of the present day, and Newfoundland a quarter of a century past. The internal resources of the country have been developed, Agriculture, Roads, Bridges, Education, and Civilization, have been more advanced in that short period, than for three centuries that preceded; more has been done than could possibly take place in twice as many more centuries, if Newfoundland were left to pine and languish under the blasting and withering eclipse of despotism.

The parent Government have acted, though late, generously, wisely, and justly towards Newfoundland; it has conferred the greatest of boons on the people, the rights, privileges, and immunities of British subjects. It would be unjust to charge the Government of the present day with the blunders and errors of the past. It is not however too much to say that those Statesmen who, like your Lordship, hold in their hands the destinies of the Colonial dependencies of the Empire, are called upon to do every thing in their power to counteract former errors and mismanagement.

If the same advantages were conferred on Newfoundland, as were so freely granted to the other Colonies, if they were allowed to manage their local affairs in their own way, if the parent Government pursued towards them, that system of "wise and salutary neglect," under which Massachusetts, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and other Colonies, rose and flourished, Newfoundland would this day be the most wealthy, the most populous, and the most powerful

Colony in North America, and unlike them, would most certainly have remained united to the parent state.

It would be vain and useless to condemn and speculate on the policy of the past, were it not to found on it arguments for improving the policy of the future.

I have fully expressed my opinion on what Newfoundland might have been, had she extended to her those constitutional privileges which were invariably granted to the other Colonies, and which alone could draw forth and develop her inexhaustible resources, and secure a due portion of her vast treasures, to be expended in her internal improvement. I have the strongest faith in the doctrine of Sir James Macintosh, "That Liberty is the parent of Commerce, the parent of Wealth, the parent of Knowledge, the parent of every Virtue." These opinions may be considered wild and visionary, yet I shall venture more, and say that notwithstanding all the misrule and mismanagement of the past, Newfoundland still remains in a national point of view, in reference to England's maritime and commercial power, her most valuable transatlantic possession. It is not my intention to detract from the value of the Colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Canadas. These noble Colonies are rapidly advancing; their power and greatness will only benefit themselves, and according to the opinion of many, add to the territorial aggrandizement of that ambitious federal Republic, separated from them by an imaginary line. Newfoundland, insulated, surrounded by the sea, her coast indented with safe and numerous harbours, situated on the highway between the old and new world, must remain a dependency of England, as long as England maintains her naval supremacy. Sir RICHARD BONNYCASTLE called Newfoundland the *Island fortress*. He said "that it is the last part of America, over which the British flag will float, and that the period would arrive when the Island of Newfoundland would exercise the same influence over the continent of America

which England now exercises over Europe." The possession of Newfoundland, and England's naval supremacy, must move on together. America, with her vast territorial possessions, her lakes, the St. Lawrence, Newfoundland and the fisheries, would be a powerful competitor with England for the dominion of the ocean.

I again repeat, that Newfoundland with her fisheries, in a national point of view, is England's most important and valuable Colony. Fisheries have mainly contributed to the greatness and power of the chief maritime nations, Venice, England, Holland. The Dutch raised the superstructure of their national power on their fishery. The foundation of Amsterdam, they said, was laid on *Herring bones*, "the wealth which the Colonies have drawn from the sea, by their fisheries," exclaimed Mr. BURKE, "What in the world is equal to it?"

The French make the Newfoundland fisheries a national question. The Americans make it a national question. Many hundred thousand pounds are expended by these powers for their encouragement, not so much as a profitable undertaking, but as a never failing source of naval power and naval strength.

That the Newfoundland fishery is a subject more of Imperial than Colonial consideration, is a proposition clearly demonstrated by the policy adopted by the French and Americans. My next letter shall be devoted to the consideration of the immense value of the fisheries, with the hope that it may have the effect of drawing your Lordship's attention to this important subject.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

PATRICK MORRIS.

LETTER II.

Fisheries.

"The trade to the *Newfoundland* being thus followed, as it may well be, your Maiesties subjects may then have there yeerely, about 400 saile of good ships, from all your Maiesties other Kingdomes, which will be always in readinesse to be called home from thence, without imbarment of any forraigne Prince, upon lesse then foureteene days warning. if the winde serue, with about eight or ten thousand of lusty, strong, and seruiceable seamen in them, vpon any occasions of seruice, when some other ships and mariners that are then abroad in voyages to the *East* or *West Indies*, and diuerse other places, will not be so speedily called home; neither (when they come) so lustie and strong, as those which vse to the *Newfoundland* are, if your Maiestie and Kingdomes have at any time never so great need of their seruice.

"Which being considered, must needs bee also a great terror to any forraigne Prince that shall proffer to quarrell with your Maiestie, when he shall consider that your Maiestie may be so speedily furnished with so many seruiceable ships of your subjects, and so many saylors, and that but from that onely place of trading."—*Whitburne's Newfoundland, Address to Jas. I., 1622.*

"To whom the Mines of *Newfoundland*, richer than those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, are now thrown in as a make-weight in the scale

of their exorbitant opulence."—*Burke's Third Letter on a Regicide Peace.*

"Newfoundland, although occupying no distinguished place in the history of the New World, has, notwithstanding, at least for two centuries and a half after its discovery by Cabot, in 1497, been of more mighty importance to Great Britain than any other Colony; and it is doubtful if the British Empire could have risen to its great and superior rank among the nations of the earth, if any other power had held the possession of Newfoundland; its fishery having, ever since its commencement, furnished our navy with a great proportion of its hardy and brave sailors."—*McGregor's British America*]

MY LORD,—

The Fisheries of Newfoundland were the first nurseries for the seamen who gained for England the dominion of the seas, and with it the trade of the world.

In 1497, HENRY VII. provided two ships for SEBASTIAN CABOT, to proceed on a voyage of discovery. He soon fell in with the "now frequented Island of Newfoundland."—(*Lock's History of Navigation.*)

"The first discovery of the Island of Newfoundland having been proved to have been made at the expense, and on account of King Henry VII., the uninterrupted possession of that Island by the settlement of the subjects of England ever since the said epoch, has also been demonstrated."—(1761, *Earl Bristol to the Spanish Minister.*)

In the reign of EDWARD VI. an Act of Parliament passed for the encouragement of the Newfoundland Fisheries. In that of ELIZABETH, there were 250 ships belonging to England, with greater numbers of Spanish, Portuguese and French. The seamen and ships engaged in the Newfoundland Fisheries mainly assisted in defeating the "*Spanish Armada.*"—(*Whitburn's Newfoundland.*)

During the reigns of JAMES I. and CHARLES I. and II., the Trade and Fisheries of Newfoundland frequently engaged the attention of the Crown and Parliament. Va-

rious rules, proclamations, and acts, were then passed in respect of them.

In 1674, the Newfoundland Fisheries were reported to employ 270 ships, and 10,800 seamen.—(*Representation of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, 1715.*)

The Act of 10th and 11th WILLIAM and MARY, declares the Trade and Fisheries of Newfoundland a beneficial trade to the Kingdom, in the employment of a great number of seamen and ships, to the increase of Her Majesty's revenue and the encouragement of Trade and Navigation.

The same Parliament came to a resolution, "That the Trade of Newfoundland doth very much promote navigation, increase seamen, and is of great profit to the nation."

The privilege of Fishing ceded to the French by the Treaty of Utrecht, was loudly condemned; it formed one of the principal grounds of impeachment against the Earl of OXFORD. "That he, the said ROBERT, Earl of Oxford, and Earl MORITMER, in defiance of the express provisions of an Act of Parliament, as well as in contempt of the frequent and earnest representations of the Merchants of Great Britain, and of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, did advise His Majesty finally to agree with France, that the subjects of France should have liberty of fishing, and drying fish, in Newfoundland."

The Committee of Secrecy, 1715, on the Treaty of Utrecht, reported, "What was really of most importance to England was the 8th Article, which relates to Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland; but the Ministry suffered themselves to be grossly imposed upon in the article, that they directly gave to France all they wanted, which was the liberty of taking and drying fish in Newfoundland. And as the acceptance of this amendment was to put an end to all the differences, and at the same time give such ample advantages to France, the French readily agreed to it, and did insert the article verbatim as it was sent in the Treaty of Commerce, which makes the 9th article as it stands; and is

the same that was requested by the last Parliament. This article, which has since been so universally and justly condemned, appears to be the work of the English Ministry, and the price for which they sold to France the Fishery of Newfoundland !!!—(*Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1715.*)

In 1762, on the discussion in Parliament on the Peace, Mr. PITT, (Lord CHATHAM), said, "The first important article was the fishery, the terms in which this article was written, appeared to him to give to France a grant of the whole fishery. There was an absolute unconditional surrender of the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which, if France continued to be attentive to her own interests, as we have hitherto found her to be, would enable her to recover her marine. He considered this to be a most dangerous article to the maritime strength and future power of Great Britain. In the negotiation he had with Mr. BUSSEY, he had acquiesced in the cession of St. Pierre and Miquelon, only after having, he said, several times in vain contended for the whole exclusive fishery, but he was overruled, he repeated he was overruled, not by the Foreign enemy, but by another enemy."—(*Speech of Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons, 1762.*)

In the previous negotiation, the Spanish Minister put forth a claim on the part of Spain to a participation in the fisheries, Mr. Secretary Pitt wrote to the British Ambassador, "Next, as to the stale and inadmissible pretensions of the Biscayans and Quispuscoans to fish at Newfoundland, on which important point your Excellency is already so fully instructed, you will again on this occasion let Mr. Wall clearly understand, that this is a matter held sacred, and that no concession on the part of His Majesty so destructive to the true and capital interest of Great Britain, will be yielded to Spain however abetted or supported."—*Mr. Secretary Pitt to the Earl of Bristol, 1761.*

"The fishery," said the same illustrious man on the same occasion, "is a point we should not dare to yield, though

they were masters of the tower of London."—*Lord Mahon's History of England.*

"The Fishery granted to France, will prove a mine of wealth, put her commerce on a respectable footing, and in a short time, furnish them with the means for maintaining the war."—*Mr. Legge's Speech, Preliminary Treaty of Peace, 1762.*

Succeeding events fully bore out the anticipations of Lord Chatham and Mr. Legge; the Newfoundland fisheries at once became a powerful nursery of seamen for the French. In 1777, while Franklin was negotiating on the part of the revolted Colonies, and the French Minister was amusing the British Ambassador with the most false professions of friendship and neutrality, an order was secretly despatched by M. De Sartine, Minister of the Marine department, to recall the French fishermen from the banks of Newfoundland, preparatory to a declaration of war against England.

The formidable efforts of the French navy during that unfortunate war, can be in a great degree accounted for by the great increase of seamen which for upwards of 15 years of peace were nursed in the French Newfoundland fisheries.

In 1774, according to the return of the British Admiral on the Newfoundland station, the French had 15,137 seamen engaged in their Newfoundland fisheries. By another account, "which I believe to be nearer the truth, there were in that year upwards of 20,000.

In 1792, owing to the confusion and ruin brought upon France by the events of the Revolution, the French Newfoundland fisheries were in a great degree abandoned. According to the same authority, (the British Admiral) the number of French fishermen that year dwindled to 3,397.

With such disparity of seamen, is it not easy to account for the strength of the French navy on the one occasion, and their weakness on the other?

That the French fisheries on the banks and shores of Newfoundland, have been the best nursery for seamen to man their navy, in all their maritime wars with England, is a proposition that can be proved by a reference to historical facts equally palpable with those I have stated in reference to the late American and French wars. That the French Navy was formidable and efficient in proportion to the length of time the nation was enabled to prosecute the Newfoundland fisheries previous to the commencement of war, will not be disputed, except by those who have not given themselves the trouble of making inquiries on the subject. The author of the considerations on the trade of Newfoundland, inserted in the second volume of Churchill's collection of voyages, observes, "that in the reign of Queen Anne, the French by this trade, had so far increased their riches and naval power, as to make all Europe stand in fear of them, which plainly shews that twenty years quiet possession of this trade is capable of making any Prince the most formidable by sea and land, by the yearly increase of men, ships, and bullion." A host of authorities could be adduced to prove the invaluable advantages in a maritime view, of the Newfoundland fisheries. My Lord, they far exceed in value all that has been said and written on the subject. The power that possesses them appears to have placed the least value upon them: over and over again, they have been huxtered, and bartered, and sacrificed. Their value has been proclaimed and eulogised by British statesmen, for no other purpose than miserable, petty, party warfare; no matter what they might have said, they were all ready to throw Newfoundland and her fisheries into the scale as a make-weight; but at no former period were they so recklessly partitioned as they were at the period to which I have now to call your Lordship's attention, when they were ceded not only to the French, but to much more dangerous rivals, the revolted Americans, by the Treaty of 1783.

Ignorance, it is said, is the highest crime in a minis-

ter, it is the only defence that can be made for the negotiators of 1783. The British Minister, Mr. OSWALD, displayed the most profound ignorance. FRANKLIN not only duped him, but out-manœuvred and deceived the French Government, on the subject of Newfoundland. As the usual cession to France of the fisheries, would be yielded as a matter of course, previously decided upon in former Treaties, France had a common interest with England in excluding the new American continental power just starting into existence. Franklin was well aware of this, he therefore took advantage of the simplicity and ignorance of Mr. Oswald, and induced him, without the knowledge of the French Government, to sign the preliminary Treaty of Peace with England, though it was agreed between the two powers, France and America, that no Treaty should be entered into without the concurrence of both. This breach of a solemn agreement on the part of Franklin, with a power to whose aid America was indebted, in a great degree, for her independence, can only be defended by the success of the manœuvre. It secured for America what Franklin knew the value of beyond all other men, "Newfoundland and her fisheries."—(*See Appendix K.*)

Franklin, not satisfied with claiming America for the Americans, modestly asked, and what is more extraordinary, gained for her Newfoundland and her fisheries. There is nothing more clear than that, though he asked, he did not expect the concession. He said himself, "The British Ministers struggled hard for two points, that the favors granted to the loyalists should be extended, and our fishery contracted. We silenced them on the first by threatening to produce an account of the mischief done by those people; and as to the second, when they told us they could not possibly agree to it as we required it, and must refer it to the Ministry in London, we produced a new article to be referred at the same time, with a note of facts in support of it, which you have, No. 3. Apparently it seemed

that to avoid the discussion of this, they suddenly changed their minds, dropped the design of recurring to London, and agreed to allow the fishery as demanded."

Well indeed might Franklin triumphantly exclaim, "Our independence is acknowledged, our boundaries as good and as extensive as we demanded, and our fisheries more so than the Congress expected."—*Franklin's Correspondence*.

Dr. Franklin was in such haste to conclude the Treaty with Mr. OSWALD, after scaring him out of the fisheries, that he broke faith with the French Government. The cause why he acted in this clandestine manner was, the knowledge he possessed, that France would make common cause with England on the subject of the fisheries.

During the discussion in Parliament on the Peace of 1783, the cession of Newfoundland and her fisheries, as usual, was made the subject of much idle and eloquent declamation; there was no part of the treaty so loudly denounced, as those which ceded partly to the French, and secondly to the Americans, Newfoundland and her fisheries.

VISCOUNT STORMONT adverted to the shameful ignorance that appeared in the negotiations and provisional articles between England and the United American States: "What reason for sending out such a man as Mr. Oswald to treat with the four American Commissioners, he was far over-matched by any one of them.

"There was prefixed in the articles of peace between England and America a very pompous preamble, setting forth that these treaties were the best observed in which were reciprocal advantages, he was a long time at a loss to understand the meaning of these words 'reciprocal advantages,' but at last he discovered they meant *only the advantage of America*.

"From this impolicy" his Lordship "turned to Newfoundland, and there, he complained of Ministers giving to the French near seven degrees of latitude for their own ex-

clusive fishery, and at the same time that we did that, we also gave the Americans a participation in all our fisheries in all our creeks and harbours, and never made any stipulation for ours in theirs.

"He now considered the fishery as irretrievably gone, for there was not a syllable of reciprocity in the Treaty, and we yielded in full right the possession of *St. Pierre and Miquelon*, which they would instantly fortify, and secure to themselves an immense trade. The concessions made to America in this particular were also very material, the unsettled coasts and bays of Nova Scotia were open to them. And we were to have no power to fish in their bays in return; eternal jealousies would arise, and instead of securing a peace, we had in truth granted all this for the sake of involving the nations in a new war."

"The admission of the French," said Lord Viscount TOWNSEND, "to a participation of the Newfoundland fisheries, was a piece of the most dreadful policy and concession that ever disgraced a nation."

Mr. Fox said, "It was evident that our Fisheries in Newfoundland, so much boasted of, were in a manner annihilated, not to mention the impolicy of ceding *St. Pierre and Miquelon*."—*Speeches in Parliament, Preliminary Articles of Peace, 1783.*

The leading men in both Houses of Parliament spoke on the subject of the Newfoundland fisheries, their value was admitted, and the concessions both to the French and Americans were feebly defended by Earl SHELBURNE and the supporters of the Ministry.

"The extraordinary privileges granted to the Americans by the 3rd Article of the Treaty, to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all the other Banks of Newfoundland, also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish, indeed was a wholesale concession. What

would Lord Chatham say to it? He would not concede to the Spaniards a participation in the fisheries though the enemy were 'in possession of the Tower of London.'"

Either the opinions expressed by public men, on this and former occasions, of the value of Newfoundland in a national and maritime point of view, must have been greatly exaggerated, or this fishery must have been made the stalking horse for the party purposes of the day, or the conduct of the ministers in ceding to the French, but more particularly, to the Americans, the Newfoundland fisheries, merited the strongest, the severest reprehension. If there were the shadow of ground for the impeachment of Earl Oxford, for the privileges granted to the French by the Treaty of Utrecht, how much more deserving of censure were the Ministry of 1783, who not only ceded them to the French, but to a more dangerous rival of England, one of her own progeny, the newly created Republic of North America, a competitor for maritime supremacy, more to be guarded against by England, than France, Spain, and all the other maritime powers of Europe put together.

The concession made by England of the fisheries, instead of being a pledge of Peace, is an encouragement to war. Mr. Bliss, in his excellent work, has truly said, "Both France and the United States seem in these differences with Great Britain, to make these fisheries of no other account than the means of assailing the power by whose concessions they were obtained, and by whose hostility they are entirely lost. This undoubtedly is owing to the facility with which, during so many years, the privilege has, as a matter of no moment, been restored by each successive Treaty of Peace, even when dictated in the enemy's capital. The time is coming, it is to be hoped, when these things will be better understood, and Great Britain, as by every right, natural and national, she ought to do, and as every other power actually does, will reserve the fisheries on the coasts of her own domi-

nions, for the enjoyment of her own subjects."—*Mr. Bliss, Colonial System, Fisheries.*

I have dwelt at some length upon the subject of the disastrous treaty of 1783. My object was to prove, by facts and opinions that would not be questioned, the value attached to the Newfoundland fisheries, by the able men of England, France, and America, at that period.

The following ten years, from 1783 to 1793, the Americans made the most of their privileges. Owing to the confusion that every interest was thrown into in France by the Revolution, the bounties to their fisheries of Newfoundland were discontinued, and their trade diminished, as it has been already stated, from the employment, in 1777, of 20,000 seamen to 3,397 in 1793. During the French war, which may be said to have continued from 1793, with the exception of the Truce of Amiens, to the Peace of 1814, the British fisheries greatly increased, and prospered: the price of fish in the Foreign markets was raised considerably, the value of the exports, the produce of the fisheries, for one year, 1813 and 1814, was estimated at the enormous amount of nearly three millions sterling.

The *eldorado* of the Newfoundland fisheries was completely dissipated by the Peace of 1814, and the consequent participation in them of the French and Americans. The price of fish in Newfoundland fell from forty-five shillings per quintal, to from ten to twelve shillings, the consequence was almost universal ruin to the British Merchants trading, and to the fishermen engaged in the trade, a great majority of the merchants were, without any fault of their own, ruined. It was estimated that close upon a million in amount of Bills were returned protested, in the years 1815, 1816, and 1817, occasioned by the insolvencies of houses engaged in the fisheries. Many of these Merchants having capital wound up their affairs and withdrew, and the proposition was made to Government to transfer a large portion of the inhabitants to the neighbouring Colo-

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ness. The fisheries were handed over to the French and Americans—an exclusive right of fishery was granted to them on the most productive fishing Banks, and along the shores of by far the best part of the Island. Stimulated and encouraged as the French and Americans were by enormous bounties, it is not difficult to account for the unparalleled ruin that was brought down upon the British Merchants and Fishermen; the only difficulty is to solve the problem, how, under such circumstances, the British were enabled to stand the competition,—that they did not resign the whole of the Newfoundland fisheries into the hands of their more favoured rivals, and withdraw from the Island altogether. The only alternative proposed by the merchants residing in England to the Government, was their giving countervailing bounties to the British Newfoundland fisheries to enable them to compete with the French and Americans. The views of the Merchants were sanctioned by a Report of a Select Committee of the British House of Commons in 1817.

“ It appears to your Committee that the Trade itself has experienced a serious and alarming depression. The causes from which this has arisen will require, in the opinion of your Committee, in the next session of Parliament, a much more detailed and accurate investigation; but enough has been shown by the testimony of respectable witnesses, to prove before the House separates, that the fisheries will be most materially injured, the capital embarked in it by degrees withdrawn, and the nursery for seamen, hitherto so justly valued, almost entirely lost.”—*Report of Committee of British Fisheries, House of Commons, 1817.*

I have endeavoured to bring under your Lordship's consideration, the subject of the Newfoundland fisheries from the earliest period to the last notice taken of them by the Imperial Government, in the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1817.

I shall have to shew to your Lordship, in a subsequent

part of this address, under what circumstances the fishery carried on by British subjects has been upheld, notwithstanding the competition they had to contend with. I shall first give a summary of the present state of the Newfoundland fisheries, French, American, and British.

France attached the greatest importance to the fisheries. She considered no expense too great for their maintenance. The works on the small Island of Cape Breton, when the seat of her fisheries, cost upwards of a million sterling.—Abbe Raynal said, “The necessity of bringing stone from Europe, and other materials proper for these great works, sometimes retarded their progress, but never made them to be discontinued. More than 30,000,000 of francs, (£1,312,500 sterling) were expended on them. This was not thought too great a sum for the support of the fisheries, for securing the communication between France and Canada, for obtaining a security or retreat to ships in time of war, coming from the Southern Islands. Nature and sound policy required that the riches of the south should be protected by the strength of the north.”—*Abbe Raynal*, vol. 4, page 81.

It may be confidently stated, that at no former period did the French carry on a more extensive fishery than she does at the present time. The main object with France, in the colonization of Canada, the fortification of Louisburgh, was the security and protection of her fisheries.—To attain that object, she had to expend vast sums of money, to be engaged in a continual turmoil of war, or what was almost as bad, to be continually apprehensive of and prepared for it.

France now enjoys all she then looked for, the most extensive fisheries; at much less cost, she has transferred the encumbrance of the Canadas to England. It requires no great depth of political knowledge to know that she made a good bargain. Instead of expending her treasures and her strength in governing and defending Canada, she has only to nurse and protect her fisheries, which she does

at much less trouble and expense, she gains all she is so anxious to obtain, fishermen and seamen to man her Navy.

If, as it was said, that twenty years enjoyment of the Fisheries of Newfoundland, would make any power the "most formidable by sea and land," by the application of this rule, it may be calculated what France has gained by the uninterrupted prosecution of the Newfoundland fisheries for thirty-three years. Since 1614, the principal nursery for her seamen has been her Newfoundland fisheries. It has been computed that the number of seamen employed in their Newfoundland fisheries exceeds the number employed in the whole mercantile navy of France.—*Bliss, Colonial System.*

The first movement of the Minister of France, preparatory to a war with England, is to order to France the fishermen from Newfoundland. The Newfoundland fishermen were secretly ordered to France by the French Minister in 1775. "In 1775, there were five hundred and four vessels, and twenty-seven thousand seamen which enabled France, in the American war, to contend with us for the sovereignty of the sea."—*Lieut. Col. Oldfield, on the North American Colonies.*

When war was apprehended in 1841, the same course was followed by Monsieur Thiers, in hastily, and in the most peremptory manner, ordering the return of the Newfoundland fishermen to France.

Various estimates have been made of the extent of the French fisheries. According to the opinion of Mr. Bliss, in his able pamphlet, the French Government, in their official statements do not give one half of the real amount.

The Bank fishery which they prosecute from St. Pierre and Miquelon, and from the Northern Harbours of Newfoundland, in vessels of from 250 to 350 tons burthen, with the extensive fishery which they carry on along the shores in various parts from Cape Ray to Cape John, it has been

considered at a moderate computation, to estimate altogether at a catch of ONE MILLION QUINTALS, employing at least 25,000 men. Various estimates have been made of the amount of bounties ; Mr. McGregor says, in 1832, £50,000 ; Mr. Bliss, £60,000 ; M. Montbel, Minister of Marine, in a copy of his report to the King of France in 1823, estimates the bounties 3,000,000 francs, equal to £125,000 sterling.

They have a bounty on their fish, per quintal, for every man employed, and encouragement in the form of drawbacks.—(*See Appendix A.*)

The French Marine Minister, in his Report to the King of France in 1829, says : “ The expense of bounties is not without compensation, as it may be said none other is more beneficial to the state. This fishery employs and gives support to 12,000 seamen, who, even supposing they could be employed in peaceable times, in your Majesty’s navy, would cost the country from six to eight millions, for six or eight months in the year. In 1828 the total amount of bounties reached three millions ; thus this trade gives to the state for three millions, that naval advantage which the Admiralty could not dispense with, although the cost would be six or eight millions, without reckoning many other expenses. Thus the only question which has been long discussed is this, whether the same advantages may be attained at a reduced expense ? Prudence would forbid my recommending at present an experiment which might compromise this valuable trade, as well as in some degree the security of the state.”

“ That at present a reduction could not be made without being liable to endanger the prosperity of a great many merchants, the existence of a great number of our mercantile population, and the interest of a branch of the public service, to the prosperity of which the whole national welfare is so clearly allied.”—*M. De Montbel, Report French Minister Marine, 1828.*

"France has very recently had occasion to know the advantage of this policy, and of the Newfoundland fishery—the expedition to Algiers, the most splendid and successful maritime armament ever despatched from that country, would never have been able to rally after the storm which dispersed it, or even to set sail from their shores, but for the seamen and fishers from the Gulf of St. Lawrence."—*Mr. Bliss, Colonial System.*

The French have by far the best parts of Newfoundland for the prosecution of their fisheries, the possession of St. Pierre and Miquelon gives them the command of the Grand Bank and the great Western fishery.

The exclusive right of fishery along the shores from Cape Ray to Cape John, give them, by the universal opinions of every person competent to judge, the very best parts of the coast of Newfoundland for fishing. By the cession of this great extent of coast, "British fishers are driven to the shores of Labrador, a longer voyage, where the quality of the fish, and the means of drying and curing them are far inferior. The north eastern coast of Newfoundland happens to be precisely that which is most exempt from fog, a circumstance unknown apparently, or unregarded by those who, in addition to other concessions of land and water, seem thus to have also given away the light and heat of the sun."—*Mr. Bliss, Colonial System.*

The present position of the French Newfoundland fishery may be summed up in a few words.

They enjoy, if they have not usurped, the sole and exclusive right of the fisheries on the most valuable and productive fishing ground on the Banks and shores of Newfoundland.—(*See Appendix L.*)

The French Government grant to their subjects engaged in the fishery bounties and encouragement more than equal to the intrinsic, or rather the marketable value, of their catch of fish.

The cost of this encouragement and extensive protection of their fisheries, is the only expense to which the Government of France is subjected, on account of her privileges and possessions in Newfoundland.

In England remains the sovereignty of the whole Island. She pays all the expenses of Government, Civil and Military, yet her subjects are debarred their just and natural right of fishing from their own coasts and harbours.

The American fisheries were first established by fishermen clandestinely spirited away from Newfoundland.

"We find all through the history of this Government that Newfoundland was resorted to by the New Englanders as a place for procuring fishermen, seamen, and artificers, that bounties were given for the purpose by their Government, and that various means were practised for seducing away our people to that Colony. They have been carried to the number of from three to four hundred in a season."—*Chief Justice Reeves's Evidence, Committee House of Commons, 17th June, 1793.*

The American fisheries on the British waters are equal to if not more extensive than the French. Their statesmen, from Franklin to Everett, (*See Appendix M.*) have been impressed with the paramount importance of the fisheries and the policy of fostering and protecting them on the highest ground of national policy. It is difficult to form an estimate of the vast extent of the American fisheries in the British waters. Mr. McGregor estimates the number of vessels at from 1,500 to 2,000, to have caught at least 1,500,000 quintals.—Averaging forty quintals of fish for every man, would give 37,500 as the number of American fishermen employed.

Following the example of the French, the Americans encourage their fisheries by bounties and other privileges.

Their home market is jealously guarded by prohibitory duties on the import of foreign fish.

The bounty of twenty shillings per ton on the vessels employed, which, with the monopoly which their own extensive markets give them, taking other local advantages into account, secures to the American fisheries advantages almost as great as those enjoyed by the French.

It would be a matter of surprise that the Americans, above all other nations, should resort to the exploded system of bounties and prohibitions, were it not that their object, like that of the French, is to increase their marine no matter what the expense.

It must be difficult to account, how the Newfoundland British fisheries could have been at all prosecuted, under the unequal competition with the French and Americans.

It was the unanimous opinion of the merchants examined before the Committee in 1817, that the fisheries could not be carried on if the Government did not grant countervailing bounties. "Without such aid the greater part of the British residents in Newfoundland should be removed from the island."—*Messrs. Garland's and Kemp's Evidences*, 1817.—(See Appendix N.)

The cultivation of the soil, as a means of support was represented utterly hopeless and impracticable. The Government did not attend to this recommendation of the Merchants for a bounty, many of them withdrew from the trade. The inhabitants were thrown back upon their own resources, either to catch fish, cultivate the soil, emigrate or starve. Necessity forced them into the cultivation of the land as a new source of employment and subsistence, they found it the best auxiliary to the fisheries; by the combination of both, and by that alone, they were enabled to subsist and sustain themselves in the Colony.

There is nothing more certain than that if the British subjects resident in Newfoundland had not taken to the

cultivation of the soil, they would not be able to maintain themselves, and must have to surrender the whole Island to the undisturbed occupancy of their more favored rivals, the French and Americans. There is nothing more easy than to prove this proposition.

The fishery carried on on the Grand Bank, at one time, gave employment to 400 sail of British ships manned by 6000 or 7000 British fishermen. French and American competition bolstered up by bounties and prohibitions, and the consequent reduction in the price of fish in the Foreign Markets, as completely swept it from the Banks, and secured the fishery to the French and Americans, as if Lord Castle-reagh had conceded the exclusive right to it in the Treaty of 1814, or that the combined fleets of France and America had forced them from it. Instead of 400 sail of British ships navigating its Banks, there is scarcely one. The deep sea fishery is altogether abandoned to the French and Americans, the inshore or boat fishery, it may be said, is the only fishery left to the British.

It may appear not easy to account for it, yet while the British fisheries are sinking under the unequal competition the catch of fish fully averages the catch in the palmy days of monopoly. It is not much less than one million quintals.

A new branch has arisen in the seal fishery, giving employment to 350 or 400 ships, and 12,000 men.

The extent of exports and imports, the number of ships and men employed, exceed that of the most favourable years of the favourite transitory fishery. The population is fully six-fold greater.—(*See Appendix O.*)

In estimating the full extent of the Newfoundland fisheries, the French and American fisheries have a right to be taken into account as well as the British. It is the aggregate amount of the Fisheries of the three Nations that compose the Fisheries of Newfoundland, the whole have a right to be placed to the credit of the Newfoundland Banks.

	<i>Qtls. Fish.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Open Bouts.</i>
French,	1,000,000	25,000	500 large size	10,089, capable of containing from 4 to 150 qtls. Green Fish.
Americans,	1,500,000	37,000	2,000 schrs. from 30 to 120 tons	
British, including the Seal Fishery,	1,000,000	25,000	520 sealing ships from 100 to 180 tons	

All this fishery, this nursery of 87,000 seamen, and the foundation of a trade to the four corners of the world, I claim for Newfoundland on every principle of policy and natural right. It should wholly belong to British subjects, and would, only for the cursed effects of monopoly.

The deep sea fishery, that carried on on the Grand Bank and the other Banks remote from the shore, is the best nursery for able and experienced seamen.— This important fishery is altogether engrossed by Foreigners passing along these inexhaustible Banks.— Swarms of French and American ships may be seen busily employed in dragging forth the treasures of the deep. Not one single English vessel can be found amongst them. The tri-colour and the star-spangled banner float without rival or competitor on the English Banks of Newfoundland. It may be asked, why do not British ships resort there as formerly,—the sea is open to them, they have the first and best right to the fishery. The reason is at hand,—because under the present unequal and unnatural competition, nothing but the most certain ruin would be entailed on the British if they adventured into the Bank and Deep-Sea Fisheries. The price of fish reduced far below its intrinsic value in all the markets of

the world, common to the three nations, by the competition of the French and Americans, would not pay one half the outfit. A British Merchant fitting out a ship of 250 or 300 tons for the Bank fishery in the same manner in which the French fit out their vessels, would, at the present price of fish, calculate upon a certain loss of £1,000 to £1,500. This cause operates as the most effectual prohibition.

The price of fish in every market, owing to the enormous bounties and other encouragements given to the fisheries, is reduced much below its intrinsic value. The average price realized by the British catcher, since the Peace, did not exceed nine shillings sterling. This price is little more than one half the cost of catching and curing it, it is not one third the price of Newfoundland fish two centuries ago, calculating on the different value of money from the present time. The price of fish in the reign of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I. and II., averaged from twelve to sixteen shillings. The price from the Revolution, 1688 to 1793, averaged from sixteen to twenty shillings, it was not unusual to have Newfoundland fish nearly ten dollars, equal to forty-two shillings sterling, in the Foreign markets from 1793 to 1814. When the chief fishery was in the hands of the British, the price rose in Newfoundland to thirty-five and forty-five shillings sterling per quintal, and in some instances realized enormous prices in Spain and Portugal.—(See *Appendix A.*)

My object in making these references is to show that the price of fish is reduced far under the cost of catching and curing it. Presuming that a fishery had to pay all its expenses, a price not less than from 17s. to 18s. would do so, and at the same time leave a mercantile profit to those who embark in the trade.

The prosecution by the British, under such circumstances, of any portion of the fishery, shows the buoyancy of the trade, and that the Newfoundland fisheries are deserving of the high character they have obtained as inexhaustible

sources of wealth and trade, when the British engaged in the fishery, have in the face of French and American competition, their fisheries upheld by bounties equal to the value of the fish, having to dispose of their fish in markets common to all, and at a price, taking the value of money at the respective periods into account, far below the price which fish was worth in the reigns of Elizabeth and James 1st, not only retained a portion of the trade, but have in respect to the catch, greatly increased it. I do say that there is no trade, there is no other manufacture in England's dominions that could exist under such unequal competition and disadvantages, a parallel cannot be found in the vast History of British Commerce.

As to the disadvantage, in a national point of view, of having the Bank and Deep-Sea Fishery engrossed by the French and Americans, acknowledged to be the best nursery for seamen, the inshore coast fishery, the only fishery left to the British, being far inferior in that respect, the authority of Mr. McGregor, already quoted, is conclusive on this head.

These disadvantages the British Fisheries are sinking under, from the ruinous effects of Treaties with Foreign Powers. I am fully aware of the difficulties that stand in the way of the Government in respect to these Treaties. I am sure any tampering with, or invasion of what they now consider their right of fishery in Newfoundland, would be rife of mischief, and would inevitably lead to war between the respective Powers. To hope for redress for Newfoundland by such means for one moment is not to be entertained. However, something may be done, not by infringing the privileges granted by Treaty to the French and Americans, but by extending them, by giving the French and Americans ingress and egress to all the Banks, shores, and harbours of Newfoundland—in short, placing them on the same footing as the British themselves. The condition for such a boon to be the simple repeal of their bounty laws, thereby placing English, French and Ameri-

cans, on the same footing. All to be asked for the British is "a clear stage, and no favour." They would then soon gain their due share of the Bank, and all the other Newfoundland fisheries.

It has been said that the bounties granted by the French and American Governments to their Newfoundland Fisheries, operated more injuriously to the British fishery than a direct impost to an equal amount. It appears a bold proposition, but one that can be easily demonstrated. A tribute to France and America, by British subjects, of an amount equal to their bounties, they withdrawing their bounties to their own subjects would not press so injuriously on the interests of the British fisheries, as the indirect effect of their present bounties.

My main object in putting forth my crude opinions on subjects so far above my power, is to draw your Lordship's attention to the vast importance, in a national point of view, of the Newfoundland fisheries; and to show how the British interests in these fisheries have been sinking under the unequal and withering influence of foreign competition and monopoly.

I cannot divest from my mind the impression, that the Government is not fully cognizant of the true state of things. The fishery on the Grand Bank, and all the Deep-Sea fisheries are altogether engrossed by the French and Americans. Upwards of two thousand ships, brigs and schooners, belonging to France and America, have taken possession of the Grand Bank of Newfoundland. I do say that the causes which have banished the British from the Bank and Deep-Sea Fishery should be enquired into.

The Government is supinely looking on, while the rivals of England are engrossing the far better portion of the British fisheries of Newfoundland; sparing no expense, making them nurseries for seamen, assuredly for the purpose of contending with England for the dominion of the seas. Mr. McGregor, in his History of British Ameri-

ca, said, "The United States of America would consider Cape Breton more valuable to them as a nation than any of our West India Islands, did they once obtain it, with its coal mines and gypsum, and as a fishery station, and also as a position to command the surrounding seas and coasts, their naval force would in a few years have sufficient physical strength to cope with any power in Europe, not even excepting England."

If Mr. McGregor attached so much value to the possession of the small Island of Cape Breton, what degree of importance would he attach to Newfoundland. Its position commands the St. Lawrence, and the surrounding seas and coast. Situated midway between the old and the new world, indented with numerous bays and harbours the safest and finest in the world, possessing mines of coal and gypsum, and inexhaustible fisheries surrounding her on all sides, with a country nearly as large as England, capable of sustaining millions of inhabitants.

If the possession of Cape Breton would enable America to cope with England in a maritime contest, according to the opinions of Mr. McGregor, what, I again ask, would the possession of Newfoundland and her fisheries enable her to accomplish. The present privilege, which both the French and Americans possess, is little removed from actual possession. With reference to the nurseries afforded for seamen, it is more than problematical whether these powers do not reap more advantage than the British from the Newfoundland fisheries. This is not a proper state of things ; important considerations are involved in the question ; there is nothing more clear than that either the doctrines and opinions of former legislators, statesmen and ministers, as to the value of the Newfoundland fisheries to England, were without foundation, or the present reckless sacrifice of them to foreigners is most unwise and impolitic.

"The shore or boat fishery to which the fishermen particularly in Newfoundland now confine themselves, is not,

strictly speaking, a nursery for seamen. The Bank fishery, in which we are supplanted by the French and Americans, was always a school for hardy sailors; and the eight or ten English vessels that now frequent the Banks, are not of more value than one of the large French vessels.

“France has completely succeeded in making our fisheries on our American seas, of the utmost political consequence, in answering the great end of training seamen for her navy; and the Republic of the United States has derived from them, at the same time, great commercial profit and vast political strength. In the event of a war with either of these Powers, the effect would be in respect to their fishermen, that by being thrown out of peaceable employment, they would at once enter the navies of their respective countries.”—*McGregor's History*.

Were we to judge from the apathy displayed on the question of the fisheries by the Parent Government, the Colonial Government, the Merchants of England, and the Merchants of Newfoundland,—in short by all parties interested, it would lead me to question the soundness of my own views, and that I have, from dwelling so much on the subject, worked myself into an exaggerated estimate of their value, both in a colonial and national point of view.

I have not, however, ventured to put forth opinions of my own until I found them sanctioned by the highest authorities.

The deliberate and repeated resolutions of the British Parliament, of the statesmen of the revolution, of the last and present centuries, of CHATHAM, BURKE, FOX, PITT; HUSKISSON, the greatest men, the most able ministers, the most profound legislators and philosophers, whose names adorn the pages of English History.

If the doctrines formerly held, of the great value and importance of Newfoundland, have become obsolete with British statesmen, they have been taken up with vigour by those of France and America, who appear to be work-

ing them out with a zeal and freshness, as if their councils were directed by the Marine Minister of Louis XIV., a Franklin, or a Raynal.

The case of the Newfoundland fisheries may be summed up in a few words.

England grants a common right with the British, to Newfoundland and her fisheries, to the subjects of France and America. These powers give large bounties and afford other advantages to their fishermen. The British Government grant no corresponding support, the markets for the sale of fish are open to all, the British must sell their fish on equal terms, or surrender the trade altogether to their rivals; the consequence is, the English are driven to the inshore, a small boat fishery.

The French and American bounties have had the effect of banishing four hundred sail of British ships, and ten thousand British fishermen from the Bank and Deep-Sea Fishery, acknowledged to be the best nursery for able and hardy seamen.

The source of the evil is apparent, how is it to be removed? The question will resolve itself into these propositions,—Is the fishery of Newfoundland an object as it has been so often stated to be, of great national import? If so, is it not imperative on the Government to place the British fisheries on a footing with the French and Americans? Would it not be an act of policy as well as justice?

The present enlightened commercial policy of England is altogether opposed to the vicious principles of prohibition and bounties. If an exception can at all be made, the Deep-sea fishery of Newfoundland can claim it, almost as a matter of right, in the form of compensation. Admitting the necessity of the policy that granted the fisheries to foreigners, that sacrificed that branch of trade for peace and the public good, the general government may justly be called on to make good the particular injury, even according to the rule laid down by Adam Smith on the sub-

ject of bounties, this trade is entitled to consideration.—
 “Bounties it is allowed ought to be given to those branches of trade only, which cannot be carried on without them. Those trades only require bounties, in which the Merchant is obliged to sell his goods for a price which does not replace to him his capital, together with the ordinary profit, or in which he is obliged to sell them for less than it really cost him to send them to market.”—
Adam Smith, vol. 2, page 314.

This is precisely the position of the British Newfoundland Fisheries.

Mr. Huskisson considers the fisheries entitled to protection; to the support of them, as a great source of England's maritime power, he makes the trade in the fisheries an exception to the great leading principle of his Commercial System. “It was,” he said, “therefore our interest to take care that so much of these productions, (the fisheries), as might be wanted for the consumption of Great Britain, should be exclusively procured by British industry, and imported in British ships.”—*Mr. Huskisson's Speech on the Navigation Laws.*

Protection to the British fisheries of Newfoundland is not claimed for the making of a new trade, but for the preservation of an old one sinking under an unequal competition. If there is any trade to which protection ought to be extended, it is to the British Deep-Sea fisheries of Newfoundland.

If the question of a corresponding bounty to enable the British fishery to be maintained against foreign competition is not to be entertained, the next mode of relief, and the most legitimate would be, in holding out inducements to the French and Americans to withdraw their bounties. If this could be accomplished, it would be far the most satisfactory mode of settlement. All that is claimed for the British fisheries is reciprocity. An offer might be made of placing their fisheries on the same

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footing with the British, throwing open all the harbours, creeks, shores, and Banks of Newfoundland and Labrador, to their fishermen in common with Her Majesty's subjects. The exclusive right of fishing exercised by the French from Cape Ray to Cape John, is clearly an usurpation on their part, as is proved in a statement made to Lord Viscount GODERICH, by the late lamented T. HYDE VILLIERS, Esq., possibly the most able paper ever written on the affairs of Newfoundland, and which no doubt your Lordship must have seen. Even that exclusive right might be allowed to remain undisturbed, and the addition of a concurrent right to the remainder thrown into the scale, on the single condition of their withdrawing their bounties. Though I throw out these propositions, I must candidly confess that I have no very sanguine hopes, even if it were taken up by the Government, and the offer made, that it would be met by the Government of France. That Government has invariably used the Newfoundland fisheries as a "hot bed" for making seamen. It will be difficult to persuade them to change their practice. In 1786, in a report of the Lords of the Committee of the Council of Trade, it was there stated as the opinion of their Lordships, that the bounties were then so extravagant that the French Government only intended them for temporary purposes, merely for the establishment of the trade.

"The French give a bounty upon fish, the produce of their fishery, imported into their West India Islands, of ten *livres* per quintal, and at the same time lay a duty of five *livres* per quintal upon all fish imported into these Islands by foreign nations. This bounty and duty taken together is equal to a prohibition of foreign fish; and it is a clear proof that even in the opinion of their own Government, nothing less than an encouragement more than equal to the first cost of their fish can enable their fishery to have a share of their own markets in the West Indies.

"The French also give a bounty of five *livres* per quintal upon all fish, the produce of their fishery, carried into Spain, Portugal and Italy. This bounty is also so extravagant as clearly to evince the opinion of the French Government of the low state of their fishery. If the Legislature here was to give a like bounty upon the fish of your Majesty's subjects carried to those markets, it would amount to £120,000 per annum. Such a measure can therefore be calculated merely to introduce their fish into those markets, but can never be intended as a permanent encouragement."—*Report of the Lords of the Privy Council of Trade, 17th March, 1786.*

The Lords of the Privy Council of Trade in 1786 allowed themselves to be misled with respect to the permanency of the French bounties. In the year 1833 I had the honour of an interview with Mr. VILLIERS, now Earl of CLARENDON, who had then recently returned from Paris, where he had been engaged in negotiations with the French Government, he also appeared to be misled. Having introduced the question of the British fisheries in connection with the French fisheries and bounties, a subject his revered and lately deceased brother had so much at heart, his Lordship informed me that he was assured by the French authorities, that it was the intention immediately to withdraw the bounties to the French Newfoundland Fisheries. I immediately stated that that was all that would be required by the British; all they required was to be placed on an equal footing. Since that year the French fisheries have greatly increased, and I have reason to believe, if the bounties have not been increased, that they have not been much reduced.

There are two alternatives open for the maintenance of the British Deep-Sea Fishery, one a corresponding bounty with those of the French and Americans, to be given by the Parent Government; the other, the abrogation of the bounties by the Foreign Governments, placing the Govern-

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ments of England, France, and America, on an equal footing.

Your Lordship will observe that I do not buoy myself up with any very sanguine hope of succeeding in either.

The prevailing Free Trade doctrines, which are superceding the old mercantile system, and of which your Lordship has been so able and consistent an advocate, will prevent the question of bounties from being entertained by the parent Government. The passion which is entertained of raising seamen and forming a navy, no matter at what expense, will prevent the French and American Governments from the abrogation of theirs.

There remains one more alternative to propose, it is simple and practicable, the same encouragement may be extended for the colonization and improvement of Newfoundland, as was so freely granted to the other Colonies, old and new, with the single exception of Newfoundland. It was the opinion of Mr. McGregor, expressed in his work on British America, "That were it not for the auxiliary support which the inhabitants (of Newfoundland) derived from the cultivation of the soil, they could not have subsisted by the production of the fisheries alone, and as they otherwise would have had to remove to the neighbouring Colonies or to the United States, the probable consequences would be that the Americans and French would before this have enjoyed the benefit of expelling us altogether from supplying foreign markets with fish."

These opinions of Mr. McGregor are self evident. French and American competition and bounties have driven the British from the Bank and Deep Sea Fisheries, they would have eventually driven them from the shore fishery, and would have the whole Island and fisheries to themselves, were it not that the people, instead of withdrawing from, remained to cultivate the country. It was the union of both fishing and Agriculture that preserved what remains of the British fisheries. Let then the same support be given to settlement and colonization in Newfound-

land, which has been given to the other Colonies, a large population will soon be raised, a great portion of the fishery will be preserved, the shore fishery will be extended, and in the end, it may have the effect of wearing out the French and Americans, whose fishery cannot always remain bolstered up by the artificial system of prohibition and bounties.

I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
PATRICK MORRIS.

LETTER III.

Colonization of Newfoundland.

"The capital, however, that is acquired to any country by commerce and manufactures, is always a very precarious and uncertain possession, till some part of it has been secured and realized in the cultivation and improvement of its lands. A merchant, it has been said very properly, is not necessarily the citizen of any particular country. It is in a great measure indifferent to him from what place he carries on his trade; and a very trifling disgust will make him remove his capital, and, together with it, all the industry which it supports, from one country to another. No part of it can be said to belong to any particular country till it has been spread, as it were, over the face of that country, either in buildings or the lasting improvement of lands.

"The ordinary revolutions of war and government easily dry up the sources of that wealth which arises from commerce only.—That which arises from the more solid improvement of agriculture is much more durable, and cannot be destroyed but by those more violent convulsions occasioned by the depredations of hostile and barbarous nations continued for a century or two together; such as those that happened for some time before and after the

fall of the Roman empire in the western provinces of Europe."—*Adam Smith, vol. 2, page 202 and 203.*

"Of all the plans that have been under consideration, that which appears to me to be most practicable, is that of aiding and assisting public works in those Provinces to which emigration is likely to be directed."—*Lord John Russell's Speech, June 1st, on Lord Lincoln's motion on Colonization.*

MY LORD,—

If Newfoundland is ever destined to emerge from that state of degradation and inferiority, to which she has been reduced by that selfish barbarous policy which prevailed so long, and which attempted to arrest the order of providence that gave the earth for the maintenance and support of man;—if she is ever to assume that station amongst the rising countries in her neighbourhood, to which her boundless natural resources both in the sea and in the land fully entitle her;—if the tide of civilization and population is ever to extend over her now solitary and unprofitable wastes, the superstructure must be raised on the solid basis of Agriculture.—ADAM SMITH, when he wrote his work on the *Wealth of Nations*, attributed the prosperity of the British Provinces, now the United States, to the facilities afforded the early settlers in the attainment of land, and the encouragement given to its cultivation. He says, "There are no colonies of which the progress has been more rapid than that of the English in North America.

"Plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs in their own way, seems to be the great cause of the prosperity of all new Colonies."—*Wealth of Nations, vol. 2, page 407.*

In all the early English Colonies, with the exception of Newfoundland, to the productions of the soil, the first settlers mainly looked for their maintenance. Agriculture therefore, with them, was their first great indispensable ob-

ject, wealth, trade, power, and Colonization, followed in its train.

According to the high authority of Adam Smith, Newfoundland was deprived of the main springs of Colonial prosperity, the privilege of managing her local affairs, and the liberty of cultivating her soil.

The barbarous prohibition to Agriculture, was the cause why Newfoundland lagged so far behind the other colonies, in their rapid advancement in wealth and population. The labour of the first settlers was expended on the internal improvement of these New Countries. The first object with the adventurers to Newfoundland was to accumulate wealth, to enable them to retire to other countries, which had all the advantages of their labour and capital. There is no proposition more easy of demonstration than that it was the wealth so readily acquired in the prosecution of the fisheries which enabled the first adventurers to realize large fortunes, and to retire to other countries to expend it, that presented the real obstacle to the internal improvement of Newfoundland. What, according to the course of ordinary principles, should have been the means of rapid improvement to Newfoundland, was turned the other way by the baneful, jealous operation of monopoly, and made an obstacle to the advancement of the country. It was not the severity of the climate, the sterility of the soil; it was not the poverty, it was the vast inexhaustible wealth of her fisheries turned into monopoly, that raised for three centuries barriers to the settlement and internal improvement of Newfoundland. The doctrine which so long prevailed, until at length it became almost a settled point, even with those who ought to know better, that the soil of Newfoundland was incapable of agricultural improvement, was a monstrous fraud on the one hand, and a most lamentable delusion on the other; fraud on the part of the monopolists, delusion on the part of the Parent Government.

The Government were first persuaded that a moveable, transitory fishery, carried on by a few merchants, who had

converted it into a monopoly, and who had allowed the greater part of it to pass into the hands of foreigners, was the best nursery for seamen, and a great source of trade, and that it would be ruinous to British interests and to the fishery, if settlement was permitted. To carry out this principle, arbitrary laws were promulgated, which made it penal for a British subject to reside in Newfoundland or to turn up a clod of earth. It may be said that this withering code was in full operation until the year 1792. The climax of the fraud and absurdity was, that they succeeded in making it generally believed, that Newfoundland, situate in a temperate latitude, separated not more than ten days sail from England, with a soil and climate, not very different, presented insurmountable obstacles to agriculture. It is not easy to believe how the most enlightened Government of the world could be made dupes of for centuries, by a few ignorant interested men. It would scarce gain credence in the present day, but that reference to the baneful effects of the old monopolizing mercantile system could be made; equally preposterous, cruel, and absurd.

Something like a parallel may be found in the proceedings of the Dutch, to secure the monopoly of the spice trade. They burnt all the spices over and above what they expected to sell in Europe at high prices. "By different acts of oppression they have reduced the population of several of the Moluccas, nearly to the number which is sufficient to supply with fresh provisions and other necessities of life, their own insignificant garrisons, and such of their ships as occasionally came there for a cargo of spices."

The *Draconian* code of Newfoundland, surpassed in folly and barbarity the Dutch administration of their Spice Islands.

The native aboriginal inhabitants were hunted down like wild beasts, until the race became almost extirpated, and every means that human folly and tyranny could devise was resorted to, to prevent the original inhabitants

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from being replaced by settlers from Britain. For three centuries this desolating policy may be said to have been very successful ; the few inhabitants who, in despite of the system, resided in Newfoundland, were continually complaining of the conduct of the adventurers, and praying and beseeching the parent state for something in the form of lawful government, to protect them from the local tyranny of the adventurers.

In 1667, petitions were presented for the appointment of a Governor. *The Merchants, Ship-owners, and Inhabitants of Towness, Plymouth, and Dartmouth, and places adjacent*, petitioned the Privy Council against such an appointment, stating it would be injurious to the fisheries. In 1674 and 1675, further applications were made for this purpose, and referred to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, who, after hearing the arguments for and against the settlement of the country, decided against the appointment of a Governor, and recommended that all plantations in Newfoundland should be discouraged, that the commanders of convoys should have commission to declare to the planters to come voluntarily away, or else the Western Charter should be from time to time put in execution, by which all planters were forbid to inhabit within six miles of the shore from Cape Race to Bonavista. The Report of their Lordships was approved of by His Majesty, and orders were given to carry into effectual execution what these recommended !!!

In the same year, 1675, the cruelties exercised at this time on the planters were so great, that Sir JOHN BERRY, the commander of the convoy, (*See Appendix P.*) whose duty it was to carry the regulations into effect, represented them in their true colours to Government, entirely disapproving of the system, and strongly recommending the policy of encouraging a Colony in Newfoundland.

Sir JOHN BERRY, on his return, attended the Committee, when he repeated and confirmed what he had written, and assured their Lordships " of the necessity of encourag-

ing a colony in Newfoundland, if not, the French would take advantage of the intended removal, to make themselves masters of all the harbours and fishing places about the Island, or would otherwise entice the English planters to come and settle among them, to the great prejudice of the fishery."

In 1676, JOHN DOWNING, an inhabitant of Newfoundland, petitioned the King against the endeavours of the adventurers, to pull down the houses and burn the stages of the planters, in order to drive them out of the country.

This complaint was referred to the *Lords of Trade*, when counsel were heard in behalf of both the adventurers and planters. The committee having repeated their opinion thereon, the King signified his pleasure that the masters and seamen belonging to the fishing ships should not any way molest the planters, upon pretence of a clause in the Western Charter, whereby "no person was to inhabit within six miles of the shore."

The unprotected state of the resident inhabitants may be estimated by the fact that the outrage of destroying their houses, and burning their property, had the appearance of Law to sanction it; and that it was necessary for them to appeal to His Majesty and Council, two thousand miles distant, and to employ counsel to show that they had a right to live in their own houses, and to enjoy their own property!!

Considerable efforts were made at this period, 1676, by the few resident inhabitants, for the obtaining of a local Government for their protection. It was most violently opposed by the adventurers. A sample of their arguments against it may be given in their own words.

"That besides the charge of Forts and a Governor, which the fishery trade could not support, it was needless to have such defence against foreigners, the coast being defended in the winter by the ice, and in summer by the resort of the King's subjects." —*Reeves's History*, page 19.

The conflicting statements of the parties interested in Newfoundland, led to the passing, in 1698, of the Acts X. and XI. WILLIAM and MARY, entitled "An Act to encourage the Trade of Newfoundland." It formed an era in its dark and melancholy history. This Act was extolled to the skies by the adventurers. It gave the appearance of law to those proceedings against the rights and properties of the resident inhabitants, which had previously been adopted without law, and in contravention of every right and privilege of British subjects. Previously to this period, the country was ruled by a set of needy unprincipled adventurers, who acted under the illegal authority of the *Star Chamber* orders in Council, and what was denominated *rules and regulations* and *new rules*. The state of the country was now taken under the consideration of the Parliament of William—the Parliament of the Revolution, but instead of making amends to Newfoundland for centuries of suffering and misrule, nearly the whole of the old system is embodied in their enactment. It is founded altogether on the barbarous policy that so long prevailed, that mode of Government which had neither law, justice, nor common sense to support it, is now propped up by an Act of Parliament. Nothing could have more effectually ruined the hopes of the few resident inhabitants, they had to submit to their hard fate. It completely established the ascendancy of the Adventurers. The persons invested with authority under the Act, bore the high sounding title of Admiral, Vice Admiral, and Rear Admiral. The skipper or master of the first fishing vessel that arrived from England in each harbour was the Admiral, the second the Vice Admiral, and the third the Rear Admiral. To these *solons* were entrusted the administration of justice under the new era. They had considerable advantages under the act, they were entitled to the best fishing stations, and the first act of their administration was to drive the inhabitants from their houses, fishing rooms, and gardens, to

make room for themselves and their friends. A resident inhabitant could not commit a higher crime against the laws of the fishery, than to cultivate the land. The fishing Admirals considered they had the right to level the houses if erected, and to take possession of them for their own use, or, as they said, for the use of the fishery.

The character of the Newfoundland Judges, and the system under which it was governed at this period, is thus summed up by Mr. CUMMINS, in a representation to the Home Government, in 1715. "The Admirals," he says, prove generally the greatest knaves, and do most prejudice, being generally Judge and Party, in hearing suits for debt, and when they have served themselves, then they will do justice to others. So it would be requisite to have a civil government, and persons appointed to administer justice in the most populous and frequented places, that they may be governed as Britons, and not live like a banditti or forsaken people, without Law or Gospel, there being but one clergyman in all the country."

Similar representations were made by others.

Mr. REEVES, in his history, says, in reference to these statements, that "While the King's officers, and persons employed and trusted by the Government, were making such uniform complaints of the abuses and disorder in the Government, the Merchants and Adventurers seem to have been wholly blind to these irregularities."—*Reeves, page 90.*

"It has been too often stated in the course of this historical inquiry, to need repetition, that the Admirals, ever the servants of the Merchants, that justice was not to be expected from them, and a poor planter or inhabitant, who was considered little better than a law breaker in being such, had but small chance of justice in opposition to any great west country merchant; that they have been in the habit of seeing that species of wickedness and anarchy, ever since Newfoundland was frequented, from father to son. It was favourable to their old impressions

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that Newfoundland was theirs, and that all the planters were to be spoiled and devoured at their pleasure."—*Reeves, page 164.*

The complaints against the misrule of the fishing Admirals led to the appointment, in 1729, by the Parent Government, of a Governor, adverted to by Mr. Reeves in the following terms,—“ The design for establishing some sort of Government in Newfoundland, ended in the appointment, not of a person skilled in the law, but of Captain HARVEY OSBORNE, Commander of His Majesty's ship *Squirrel*.”

Thus commenced the Naval Government of Newfoundland, by Captains and Admirals of the British Navy.—Settlement and colonization were little advanced by the change, it was an improvement on the system of the fishing Admirals.

The prohibition to cultivation and settlement was rigidly enforced under the Act X. and XI. William and Mary. It formed part of their instructions. The Governors remained only a few months in the country, arriving generally in July or August, and departing the latter end of October in each year. To a transitory fishery was added a transitory Government, an anomaly from which little benefit to the country could be derived. To show how steadfastly the olden policy was adhered to in respect to the clearance and cultivation of land, I have only to refer to the representation of Admiral MILLBANK to the Lords of the Privy Council for Trade, dated 31st December, 1789, sixty years after the appointment of a Naval Governor.

“ It is astonishing to me how any Governor, after reading this clause, (25th Section, X. and XI. William and Mary), should imagine himself vested with power to grant land to persons in Newfoundland. The Act itself, one would suppose, is the completest instruction that could be given for the preservation of the wood in the Island.

But it has hitherto been so little understood, or rather so totally disregarded, that several of the Governors have made very large grants to persons who founded their claims to such indulgence upon the most glaring violation of the Act, and instead of being prosecuted for a breach of the law, have been put into possession of large tracts of land, expressly for the reason which ought to have subjected them to imprisonment or banishment from the country."

The most graphic description of the transitory Naval system of Government adopted for Newfoundland will be found in the evidence of WILLIAM KNOX, Esq., given before a Committee of the House of Commons, 1792, MICHAEL ANGELO TAYLOR, Esq., in the chair. Mr. Knox represented himself as formerly under Secretary of State in the American Department, and that he furnished much of the information upon which the Government of Lord North acted, he said—

"That the Island of Newfoundland had been considered in all former times as a great English ship, moored near the Banks during the fishing season, for the convenience of the English fishermen. The Governor was considered as the ship's Captain, and all those concerned in the fishery business as his crew, and subject to naval discipline.

"To prevent the increase of inhabitants on the Island, the most positive instructions were given to the Governors not to make any grants of land, and to reduce the number of those who were already settled there, their vessels, as well as those belonging to the Colonies, were to be denied any priority of right, in occupying stations in the bays or harbours, for curing their fish, over the vessels from England, and he was intrusted to withhold from them whatever might serve to encourage them to remain on the Island. And as Lord NORTH expressed it, 'Whatever they loved to have *roasted* he was to give to them *raw*, and whatever they wished to have *raw*, he was to give it to them *roasted*.'"—*Evidence of William Knox, Esq., Committee House Commons, April 24, 1793.*

Major ELFORD, Lieutenant Governor of St. John's, where he resided several years, in his evidence before the same Committee, would crown the system so strongly recommended to the Ministers of the day by Mr. Under Secretary Knox, he would "Allow no woman to land in the Island, and that means should be adopted to remove those that were there."—*Lieutenant Governor Elford's Evidence, 1793.*

The Committee of the House of Commons, 1793, were called upon by the Merchants engaged in the Newfoundland trade, to devise means to protect them from the effects of American and French competition, which they said had greatly reduced the British Fisheries. The question of Colonization, and Settlements and Agriculture, as a means of employment and support, for the then very limited resident population, would have been considered as a species of *High Treason* against the favored system of monopoly. There was, however, one person, Chief Justice REEVES, who saw things in their true light, and in despite of the monopolists, expressed opinions favourable to colonization. Whatever show of reason in confining Newfoundland to a mere fishery in early times, previous to the revolt and separation of the neighbouring Colonies, the moment the Flag of Independence was raised on the continent of America, the evident policy of England was to encourage the colonization of Newfoundland. Such was the advice given by that eminent man, Chief Justice Reeves, in 1793, in his evidence to the Committee of the House of Commons.

"That Revolution," (the American,) he said, "has made an alteration in the value and importance of Newfoundland, which seems to me never to have been sufficiently considered. It appears to me that since the peace of 1783, Newfoundland has been more completely our own, that it has been a more genuine British fishery, and of more value to the mother country, than it was ever before. It is become a sort of *cul de sac*, what does not stay there must come to Great Britain and Ireland. There is no longer the

competition and interloping trade of the new Englanders; so much complained of heretofore by the merchants. I cannot help thinking also that as Newfoundland is so severed from New England, some of the topics respecting the population of the Island, and the fears about colonization deserve less regard."—*Chief Justice Reeves's Evidence, Committee of House of Commons, reported by M. A. Taylor, Esq., June 17, 1793.*

The profound opinions of Chief Justice Reeves were passed by unheeded. Newfoundland was doomed to pass another period under the withering system of monopoly. The complaints of the merchants of the decline of the fisheries, so strenuously set forth before the Committee of 1793, were soon hushed into silence by the extraordinary prosperity of the fishery trade that followed the French war of that year. From that period to the peace of 1814, one continued stream of prosperity continued to flow in upon the merchants and others engaged in the trade. They were first relieved from French and afterwards from American competition. For a time, it may be said, they had the whole of their own fisheries in their own hands. Princely fortunes were amassed in a few years, by persons who entered the trade without a shilling. It was not unusual for houses to realize from the profits of one year, 20, 30, 40, and as much as £60,000. The exports were increased in one year to the enormous amount of £2,900,000.

It may be said that not one shilling of the vast accumulation of capital was expended in making permanent improvements in Newfoundland. As soon as the adventurers accumulated a fortune of sufficient bulk, to enable them to retire, they withdrew, bringing with them their capital to improve every other country but that in which it was produced.

The peace with France and America caused more than the usual revulsion in the trade. The British had again to contend with the unequal competition of the fo-

reign rivals to whom were surrendered the fisheries of Newfoundland. To show the change, it is only necessary to mention that the price of the staple article—fish—suddenly fell from forty-five shillings per quintal to twelve shillings. Ruin and bankruptcy was the consequence to a great portion of the merchants and planters. The few mercantile houses that preserved a portion of their capital were attempting to realize it, and to withdraw altogether from the country. A large population had risen up during the prosperous years—the fisheries afforded the only means of employment, that source being closed up, there appeared no alternative for them but to emigrate or starve. What greatly added to the local distress, was the loss sustained by the planter and fisherman, by the extensive failure of the merchants. They held in their hands their savings during the prosperous years, and the greater part was lost. It was estimated in that way, that to that class the loss was little short of four hundred thousand pounds.

The depressed state of the fishery trade, again induced the merchants to look for aid from the Government; through their urgent solicitations a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to enquire "into the state of the trade of Newfoundland, and into the situation of that settlement," June 19th, MICHAEL ANGELO TAYLOR, Esq., the same veteran and respected member that presided over the Committee of 1793, in the chair. The merchants proposed two alternatives, a bounty to the fishery to enable the British to compete on equal terms with the French and Americans, or the transportation of the principal part of the inhabitants to the neighbouring Colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or the Canadas. It was very naturally enquired from the gentlemen examined before the Committee, if there were not a possibility of finding employment and support for some portion of the inhabitants by the cultivation of the soil? This enquiry was answered

in the negative. The agricultural improvement of Newfoundland was represented as utterly impracticable, by all the principal witnesses with the exception of JAMES H. ATTWOOD, Esq., a gentleman who had only very recently got connected with Newfoundland, and whose opinions may be considered to represent a new class of Merchants, then rising into existence.

The question was put to GEORGE KEMPT, Esq.,—
“Do you think that a large portion of these people may be supported in Newfoundland by tilling the ground, the question of course implies that Government will provide them with food, agricultural implements, seed corn, potatoes, &c., &c., from the present time till next September twelvemonth.

Answer.—As to the capability of cultivation I beg to remark, that during my stay in the Island, my attention was particularly directed to this subject, and my opinion is, that there are very few parts that will become susceptible of cultivation by the plough; the Island is composed of a rock of granite and slate, with a very small surface of soil, in many places none at all, and in very few above two or three inches; the only places where there is any quantity of soil sufficient for cultivation are the bogs in the Island, but these bogs generally speaking, are incapable of drainage, because they are occasioned by large basins in the rock, through which it would be necessary to cut in order to drain off the water. I have understood that in the River Exploits, there is some land comparatively fertile, but I apprehend there is no other considerable portion of fertile land in the Island. I also beg leave to remark that as far as my knowledge goes, from personal observations and enquiry, there is no limestone in the Island, and consequently one great source of manure, the only one I am aware of, is cut off, except in places near the coast, where they may obtain sea-weed or the refuse of the fish. I beg therefore to suggest, how much more eligible it would be for Government to carry them to

New Brunswick or Upper Canada, where a fertile country, though uncultivated, seems to solicit their labour.

"You are understood to speak now from your own observations on the spot.

"I do, so far as I have stated facts, I speak from my own observation.

"Do you think that the grant of land and promise of support in Newfoundland to the poor, would induce others to emigrate thither from Ireland, who are not acquainted with the Newfoundland soil?

"I do, and that to a serious extent.

"What evil to the general trade of the Island do you anticipate from the settlement of several thousand of these paupers, as cultivators of the land?

"I anticipate that as soon as the support of Government is withdrawn from them, they will immediately fall into distress, and that the same violence will be repeated that was experienced last winter.

"You have spoken of your knowledge of the want of fertility of the soil of Newfoundland, have you been much over the Island?

"I have in my shooting excursions gone over a good deal of the neighbourhood of the coast, and have made particular enquiries from those who resided all their lives in the Island, and penetrated into the interior, respecting the character of it, and the result is as I have stated !!!

"You have not been into the interior?

"Yes, I have.

"And the face of the country corresponds with your statements?

"So far as I have seen it. Of course I have not seen the whole of it, for it is of very large extent. The country is no where level for any considerable extent, but a succession of valleys and steep hills. There is little soil in the valleys, but scarcely any at all on the sides of the

hills, and frequently none on the summits. That soil is never anything but *decayed vegetable matter*; there is no loam, or calcareous matter in the Island, I believe.

“Do not you think that a soil composed of decayed vegetable matter, is likely to be sufficiently fertile for all the purposes of agriculture?”

“If it could be sufficiently drained, and could be found in sufficient extent, I have no doubt it might, but the bogs are generally occasioned by hollows in the rocks, where the water has accumulated, and which consequently are not capable of drainage without prodigious labour. There are some small spots of a different description, but not to any considerable extent, except, I believe, in the neighbourhood of Exploits; there, I believe, the land is more fertile.”

JAMES HENRY ATTWOOD, Esq., as a part of his evidence, laid a memorial before the Committee, from the resident merchants of St. John's, to Earl BATHURST, then Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, which expressed very different opinions on the subject of cultivation, and a much sounder doctrine than that maintained by the transitory west country merchant. It said, “But in order to prevent as much as possible such emigration and the consequent loss to His Majesty of so large a portion of hardy seafaring people, we seriously recommend to your Lordship's consideration the propriety of encouraging and promoting the cultivation of the soil, a measure calculated to assist the laborious fisherman in the support of himself and family, and to stimulate him to honest industry, instead of spending in dissipation and idleness those periods when the fishery can afford him no employment.”

I shall make one or two remarks, *en passant*, on Mr. KEMPT's facts, as respects the susceptibility of the cultivation of the soil of Newfoundland by the “plough”; he says the soil is not more than two or three inches in depth, that there is a little in the valleys, but scarcely

any at all on the sides of the hills, and that no limestone is to be found in the Island.

Thousands of acres of land can be found in different parts of the Island, where the plough can be used without much previous clearance; and the soil, instead of two or three inches in depth, is generally found to be from one foot to three, "composed of decayed vegetable matter." Instead of the valleys having the greatest depth of soil, it is found that the soil on high lands, and the declivities of hills, is much deeper.

Mr. Kemp's other facts, that there is no limestone, is equally baseless and unfounded. Though there has never been anything like a proper exploration, it is ascertained that Limestone, Gypsum, Coal, Copper, and Iron, abound in different parts of the Island. At the time I am writing there are several vessels employed in bringing, for the purpose of building St. John's, limestone from different parts of the Island, and some of it of a very superior quality. A limestone quarry has been worked in a small harbour called Chapel's Cove, in Conception Bay, the lime of which, it was said, was used by the French in erecting fortifications, when they were in possession of St. John's. It has been frequently used since. What makes Mr. Kemp's mistake more palpable is, that Chapel's Cove, where this quarry has been worked, is not more than five or six miles distant from the harbour of Brigus, the seat of one of Mr. Kemp's principal establishments, when he carried on business and where no doubt he resided for a time, and rested himself after his laborious rambles to make himself acquainted with the agricultural capabilities of Newfoundland, with the researches of which he so much enlightened the Select Committee of the House of Commons.

The result of the enquiry of the Committee of the House of Commons was a report favourable to the views of the merchants. The Government, however, did not grant a bounty, the object mainly aimed at. Newfoundland and

her fisheries were thrown on their own resources. Some of the large mercantile houses withdrew their capital from the trade. Others who continued the old system of fishery, were, as it was anticipated by the witnesses examined before the Committee, *very soon* brought down to bankruptcy and ruin.

The great panacea proposed by the merchants, for the relief of the fisheries when depressed, was the removal of the inhabitants. It was at all times their most favored scheme—it was their proposition in 1817,—it was repeatedly proposed at earlier periods. In 1670, “the merchants, owners, and masters of ships, and inhabitants of the Western parts of the Kingdom, adventurers to Newfoundland, petitioned the King (Charles II.) that the resident inhabitants and their families, then amounting to 3,171, should be removed to Jamaica, St. Christopher’s, or some other of His Majesty’s plantations.”

This *humane request* was refused by His Majesty. “But when the adventurers found that the removal of the inhabitants from Newfoundland could not be obtained, they seemed to be very indifferent about renewing the charter. So the Trade was left to take its course.”—*Representation of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations to His Majesty, 1718.*

It is a melancholy though a curious subject for reflection, to observe the pertinacity and determination with which the adventurers in the Newfoundland fisheries opposed its colonization and settlement. Whenever any depression came on their trade, they placed the cause to the encouragement given to the resident inhabitants, no matter whether the number of inhabitants was 3,171, as in 1670, or 70,000, as in 1817. Their removal was to be the means of their relief. Blinded by their selfish monopoly, they could not see that the real cause of the depression of their trade, did not arise from the resident population, but from the competition of the French and New Englanders, as

at the last period by the French, and Americans of the United States. Referring to the history of the fishery, it will be found that the depression of the British trade, and the consequent complaints of the adventurers, took place during the interval of peace with France, which brought the subjects of that power in competition with the British in the fisheries, are the periods when the British fisheries declined, and when the adventurers will be found harrassing the Government with their heartless complaints and representations, in reference to the resident inhabitants of Newfoundland. So much did they fear to have their monopoly of the fisheries interfered with by their fellow subjects resident in Newfoundland, that they did not observe that it was the French and New Englanders they had cause to be apprehensive of. At the same time that the adventurers were pressing the Government to transport the inhabitants from Newfoundland, the local authorities of Massachusetts were giving a bounty for each Newfoundland fisherman brought into the state. Mr. LARKIN, in his statement to the Lords of the Council of Trade, in 1701, said, "The New England vessels were said the last year to have taken away five hundred men in this manner from Conception Bay, many of them were headed up in casks to prevent discovery." *Flouces, page 7.*

"The New Englanders, like the Dutch, owe their rise and prosperity to the fisheries. It was encouraged to such a degree that a regulation has taken place by which every family who shall declare that it has lived upon salt fish for two days in the week for the whole year, shall be disburdened of part of their tax. Thus commercial views enjoin abstinence from meat to the Protestants in the same manner that Religion prescribes to the Catholics."—*The Herald, vol. 4, page 244.*

"For upwards of forty years past the New Englanders, by the assistance of the Planters of Newfoundland, have carried away every year from thence as many of the Eng-

lish fishermen as they could persuade or seduce to proceed with them, by which means they have established a very considerable Navigation, and gained a fishery on their own coast, which at present is probably superior to that of Newfoundland."—*Representation of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to His Majesty, relating to the Newfoundland Trade and Fisheries, 19th December, 1718.*

Well might Sir HUGH PALLISER exclaim, in 1765, to the Committee of the Privy Council of Trade,—“Such is the effect of letting the Newfoundland fishery run into monopoly, that the rest of our merchants, if they cannot have a monopoly likewise, will let the New England men or French men, or anybody, run away with it.”

It was their own vicious policy that undermined the British fisheries of Newfoundland, and transferred them to New-Englanders, Americans, and Frenchmen. Instead of prohibiting settlement and population, they should have encouraged it by every means in their power. There cannot be a doubt but if Newfoundland was colonized at an early period, and a resident population allowed to grow up, and some small portion of the vast wealth drawn from the fisheries expended in the internal improvement of the country, the Colony would have assumed such importance and station as would command attention, and prevent her fisheries from being huxtered, bartered and sacrificed, by ignorant, if not corrupt ministers and negotiators, Lord OXFORD and MORTIMER, by the Treaty of Utrecht, OSWALD in 1783, and Lord CASTLEREAGH in 1814.

As long as Newfoundland was considered only as a ship moored on the Banks, according to the wise policy of Lord NORTH, she exercised no controlling power, her interests sacrificed. The representations of the adventurers, and the rights of the inhabitants, were alike treated with contempt and contumely.

It was the insane policy prohibiting the settlement of the country, which prevailed so long, to that alone is to be ascribed the present state of Newfoundland, her fisheries transferred to foreigners, her land unoccupied and unreclaimed, only emerging from a state of barbarism, commencing now what ought to have commenced upwards of three centuries ago, the colonization and internal improvement of the country.

I have, I fear, dwelt so long on the ancient anti-colonization policy as to become tiresome. My object in calling your Lordship's attention so feebly to it, is to show the great difficulties that stood in the way of local improvement in this Colony, that it did not arise from natural causes, neither the sterility of the soil, nor the severity of the climate, but that, what can scarcely find a parallel in the history of any other country in the world, the Laws and Government of Newfoundland, instead of promoting absolutely prohibited and proscribed the cultivation of the soil, and the improvement of the country. It may be said in the words of BURKE, in reference to another ill-governed country, "That a more elaborate system, for the degradation and barbarism of a country, was never before invented by the perverted ingenuity of man."

It is full time to put an end to every vestige of the olden system, and even at the "eleventh hour" to grant to Newfoundland the advantages of colonization, to have extended to her by the Parent Government, a child's share of that fostering care, which is so generously extended to her ancient Colonies, and which she continues so lavishly to bestow on her New Colonies. If Newfoundland possesses all the elements necessary for the promotion of a prosperous Colony, if her soil is capable of affording employment and subsistence to a numerous population, there is no other Colony in which England has so great an interest, or in which she will find a greater security for any outlay she may make.

Newfoundland, surrounded on all sides by interminable fishing banks, far exceeding all others in the world, capable of affording profitable employment to her surplus population, there is no other country belonging to England that presents such a field for a truly British Colony.

The proximity of Newfoundland to the parent state, capable of defence on all sides by her fleets, it does appear to me that if some small portion of the wealth of England was expended in the Colonization of Newfoundland, there would be more certain security for it than for the millions that have been so lavishly expended upon now and more favoured Colonies. The great barrier to the agricultural improvement and settlement of Newfoundland was, what under a different order of things should have promoted them, the great wealth so easily drawn from her fisheries. All the other early Colonies, and I may say the modern ones, were essentially agricultural; the first and indispensable work of the adventurers to them was to make war on the wilderness, to carve out new homes, which were to be the habitations of themselves and their children. They had to bid an eternal adieu to the land of their fathers, they had to encounter unheard of difficulties their subsistence was to be entirely raised from the soil. The progress of wealth in agricultural countries, though certain, is slow. The labour of attaining it great; the permanency and security compensated for all their labours and toil. It was on the massey base of Agriculture they laid the foundation of their future prosperity and independence. A widely different aspect is presented by the early state of Newfoundland. Agriculture was proscribed; the adventurers found mines of wealth in her fisheries, the products of a few months healthful labour enabled them to retire to Europe, to purchase with its fruits that gold which the Spaniards were digging for in the mines of Mexico and Peru, to attain which they were sacrificing millions of the native inhabitants of these countries, enervating themselves, extending

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luxury and indolence, and laying the seeds of that decay which led to the downfall of that mighty Empire—Spain and the Indies—on which it was boasted the sun never set. Can it be questioned that Newfoundland was of more value to England, than Mexico and Peru to Spain. It was not without sufficient foundation that ABBE RAYNAL and BURKE said, "The fisheries of Newfoundland are mines of wealth, superior to those of Mexico and Peru."

It was this extraordinary wealth that raised the barriers to the early settlement and improvement of Newfoundland; the adventurers wanted to make a monopoly of the fisheries, their profits were enormous; comparatively speaking the fisheries were confined to a few persons—they made their selfish calculations that if Agriculture and settlement were admitted or encouraged a whole people would soon become their competitors, their monopoly would be wrested from their hands. It was not the sterility of the soil or the severity of the climate, but it was her vast inexhaustible wealth, not her poverty but her riches, that so long prevented the settlement of Newfoundland, and her consequent agricultural improvement. Monopoly still continues its baneful effect, it is not that of the English adventurers, the monopoly has passed from their hands, it is French and American monopoly, the evil effect of which is not confined to the British Bank Fisheries; it is felt by the Agricultural; the progress of that great interest is impeded by the incubus of this unnatural foreign monopoly which I have feebly endeavoured to explain and point out in my letter on the Fisheries.

The Fishery of Newfoundland is its main source of trade, any cause that presses upon it, and deprives the inhabitants of its advantages, transferring it to strangers, operates injuriously to every other interest. The great and only impediment to the extension of agricultural improvement in Newfoundland—the Parent Government having wisely removed all obstructions—is the depressed

state of the fisheries. In the natural, ordinary state of things, capital would be raised from the fishery which would soon be expended in the improvement of the land, the progress of wealth and improvement in every country. Agriculture, Trade, Fisheries, Manufactures, advance together, the prosperity of the one leads to the prosperity of the other, their interests do not.

The unwise and unnatural transfer of the Newfoundland Fisheries to the French and Americans, upheld as they are with prohibitions and bounties, press most injuriously on the British Newfoundland Trade and Fisheries, and as a certain consequence every other interest suffers.—Agriculture and every other internal improvement is impeded.

These doctrines are most imperfectly set forth, but their truth is unquestionable. The principle of colonization has been ceded, great invaluable constitutional privileges generously granted, yet Newfoundland languishes under the effects of the previous system. The gross, false character which was given to the country, and which is continued to be disseminated by every book in which reference is made to Newfoundland, is not sufficiently dissipated—the most profound ignorance prevails as respects the real state and capabilities of the country. Colonization is recommended in Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia; vast sums are expended in colonizing new and distant Colonies, while Newfoundland, England's oldest transatlantic possession is passed by, scarcely ever noticed as of value or consideration.

The main argument against the colonization of Newfoundland, was founded on the deep-rooted prejudice that so long prevailed, and which to a great extent exist, the opinion that the soil and climate present insurmountable obstacles to the agricultural improvement of the country.

The best reply that can be made to this statement is, that the country has been cultivated; that in no single in-

stance where common skill and common industry have been exercised in the clearance and cultivation of the soil, have they failed in amply repaying the labour expended on it. That portion of the population who have turned their attention to agriculture, have made themselves independent and comfortable in their circumstances, while those who are exclusively engaged in the fisheries have been subject in many cases to great want and privation. Numerous examples can be referred to of successful cultivation. The disputed problem of the agricultural capabilities of Newfoundland is most satisfactorily solved. I shall refer to one or two particular cases which will fully bear out the general statement.

About the year 1803 the late Dr. WILLIAM CARSON arrived in Newfoundland; he at once saw the great injustice that was done, both to the country and the resident inhabitants, by the semi-barbarous policy that prevailed which prohibited the cultivation of the soil. He raised his voice against it, wrote some excellent tracts on the subject, denounced it in the strongest terms, incurring no small risk of being transported for his temerity for arraigning the venerable system that had prevailed for centuries. He became the most strenuous advocate for the cultivation of the soil, which he represented as fully equal in quality to that of his native country, Scotland; he was opposed by the local authorities, by the merchants, and a great portion of the inhabitants; he was ridiculed as a visionary. Notwithstanding, in good report and in evil report he persevered until he saw, for some time before his death, his views and doctrines almost unanimously approved of by all parties. Dr. Carson may be called the Parent of the Agriculture of Newfoundland; he not only encouraged it by precept, but likewise by example. In the year 1813 or 1819, he obtained a large grant of waste land from the then Governor Sir CHARLES HAMILTON, which he cleared and cultivated at considerable labour

and expense. The land cleared and cultivated by Dr. Carson forms one of the most valuable farms in the vicinity of St. John's.

Though Dr. Carson, like most such projectors, men who devote themselves to the public service, may not have gained by his Agricultural speculations, however, his efforts for the improvement of the soil were eminently successful.

In the year 1827 or 1828, during the Government of His Excellency Sir THOMAS COCHRANE, one of the principal Merchants of St. John's, H. P. THOMAS, Esq., obtained a grant of 250 acres of waste land, distant some four miles from the town of St. John's, which he cleared and cultivated and occupied for some years, until he was repaid for the whole expense of the outlay ; he then let the ground on lease to an intelligent Scotch farmer, (the same person who had the superintendence of it from the beginning) at a rent of two hundred pounds sterling per annum, who in a few years, some twelve or fourteen, after paying his rent has realized a sum of not less than four thousand pounds.— Twenty years ago, this land was a wilderness, not producing one shilling per year, unapproachable even by a footpath. Since that time numerous farms have been cleared, many miles beyond it. I may say with truth, that within a circuit of two or three miles from this farm, there are now some thousands of acres in profitable cultivation, and in the occupation of some hundreds of industrious families.

Within a mile of the town of Carbonear, in Conception Bay, ROBERT PACK, Esq., principal in the *old* and truly respectable mercantile house of Gosse, Pack & Fryer, obtained a grant of waste land, which he brought into the most perfect state of cultivation, having raised crops of Potatoes, Hay, Oats, Barley, and other grain. His farm would bear a comparison with some of the best cultivated land in the mother country.—

But it is not so much by the clearance of his own farm that Mr. Pack has rendered so much benefit to the community ; it is by the example of successful cultivation which he has exhibited to the industrious people, thrown out of their usual employment by the failure of the fisheries, and which has been extensively followed. Now some thousands of the industrious people of that settlement, raise from the soil a main portion of their support. Cultivation is rapidly extending. Before the expiration of another quarter of a century, the margin of the magnificent Bay of Conception will be occupied by a larger population than is now contained in the Island. The name of *Pack* will be treasured in the hearts of the people as a great public benefactor, not only as the patron of Agriculture, but of every other object calculated to promote the liberty, prosperity, and happiness of the people of Newfoundland.

Were it necessary I could give many further examples of successful cultivation. Not only in the neighbourhood of St. John's and Conception Bay, but in all the other inhabited parts of the Island, in the Bays of Trinity, Bonavista, and as far North as Cape John, the British limits, a considerable amount of land has been cleared and cultivated. And I have been informed that the lands in the occupation of the French, between Cape John and the Straits of Belle Isle, called the French Shore, are in many places of an excellent quality, which can the more readily be believed when it is stated that it abounds with limestone of the best quality, cargoes of which are now daily imported into the town of St. John's for the purpose of rebuilding the town. No part of the land cleared and cultivated within the French limits, is included in the census returns.

The lands to the southward and westward present much more favourable means for settlement and cultivation. A few degrees of latitude make a considerable difference in



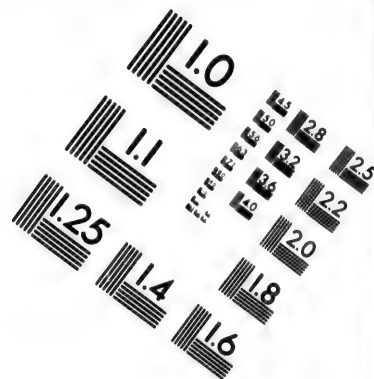
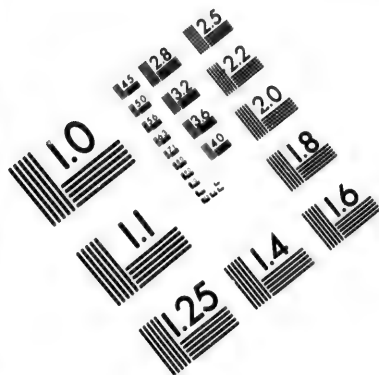
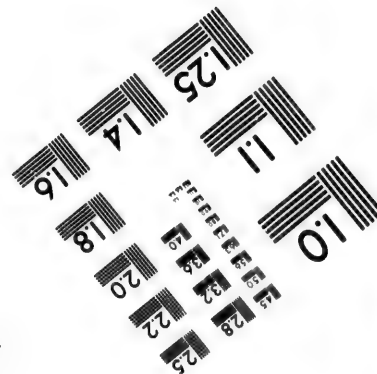
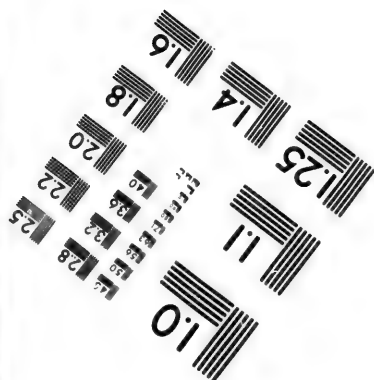
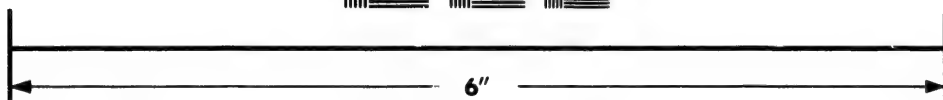
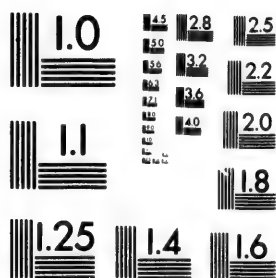


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the climate, the lands improve in quality as we approach the western and southern parts of the Island. Even within a few miles of St. John's on the line of road opened in the direction of Bay Bulls, an evident improvement is observable in the land. Thousands, I may say millions of acres of *good* land, are to be found on the margin of the new lines of roads that have been opened in the direction of Bay Bulls, Cape Broyle, Ferryland, Reneau, Fermeuse and Trepassey, and towards the Bays of St. Mary's, Placentia, and Fortune. The land in St. George's Bay, and the Bay of Islands, again, within the French limits, from Cape Ray to the Straits of Belle Isle, are represented to be of a quality equal, if not superior, to the land in the neighbouring Colonies. Limestone, Marble, Gypsum, Coal, and the finest timber, are to be found in great abundance in that quarter.

Mr. DUKES, in his very cursory geological survey of part of the Island, asserts that the land in every part that he examined, is of a better description and more fitted for agricultural purposes than the land in the immediate neighbourhood of St. John's, where far the greatest extent of cultivation has taken place, as will appear by the census returns of 1845. The amount of land in possession and cultivation in the whole Island, or rather that part occupied by the British settlers, is returned 83,435½ acres in possession, and 29,656¼ under cultivation; the portion of the whole for the district of St. John's is represented to be, 63,777 acres in possession, and 19,099 acres cleared and under cultivation, leaving for the remaining parts of the Island, 19,668½ in possession, and only 10,557¼ cleared and under cultivation. It appears from this statement, that in the quarter of the Island, according to the opinion of Mr. Dukes, where the land is most inferior, within the circuit of some ten miles, there is nearly three times the quantity of land in possession, and nearly double the land under cultivation, that is to be found over the remainder of the

Colony. An important and most satisfactory conclusion can be drawn from these *data* in reference to the capabilities of the whole Island for agricultural purposes. If agriculture has rapidly advanced in the worst and most sterile part of the Island, and has been found most remunerative to those engaged in it, there can be no doubt of it succeeding in parts where the soil and climate are more favourable. The question does not rest on speculation or problematical opinions. Some of the finest and most productive farms are in successful occupation and cultivation in the various remote districts of the Island.

The best practical proof of the capabilities of the soil of Newfoundland for Agricultural purposes, is to be found in the census returns of 1836 and 1845.

There is no means of accurately ascertaining the extent of land cultivated, and the annual produce before the year 1836, in which year, under a local Act the following returns were made :—

COLONIZATION OF NEWFOUNDLAND. RETURNS FOR 1836.

24,117 acres of land in possession.

11,062½ do in cultivation at 20%.

per acre

£221,250 0 0

1,550 Horses at 10%.

15,500 0 0

5,832 Neat Cattle at 5%.

29,160 0 0

2,943 Sheep at 20s.

2,943 0 0

3,155 Hogs at 30s.

4,379 10 0

Goats not taken in the return of

the year, say 4,000 at 20s.

4,000 0 0

£277,675 10 0

ANNUAL PRODUCE.

1,168,127 Bushels of Potatoes,

equal to 467,250 4-5 barrels

at 5s.

£116,812 14 0

10,310 Bushels Grain at 3s.

1,546 10 0

6,975 Tons Hay at 5%.

34,875 0 0

Increase of Stock, Calves,

Sheep, &c., &c.

8,000 0 0

Milk, Butter, &c., &c.

20,000 0 0

Vegetables, Garden Stuffs, &c.

10,000 0 0

£191,234 14 0

COLONIZATION OF NEWFOUNDLAND
RETURNS FOR 1845

77

83,483½ acres of land in possession.

29,656½ acres of land in cul-

tivation, at 20 <i>l</i> .	£593,125	0	0
2,409 Horses at 10 <i>l</i> .	24,090	0	0
8,135 Neat Cattle at 5 <i>l</i> .	40,675	0	0
5,750 Sheep at 20 <i>s</i> .	5,750	0	0
5 077 Hogs at 30 <i>s</i> .	7,615	10	0
5,791 Goats, at 20 <i>s</i> .	5,791	0	0
			£677,046 10 0

ANNUAL PRODUCE,

941,341 Barrels Potatoes at 5 <i>s</i> .	£85,535	5	0
11,695 Bushels Grain, at 3 <i>s</i> .	1,754	5	0
11,013 Tons Hay and Fodder at 5 <i>l</i> .	55,065	0	0
Increase of Stock, Calves, Sheep, &c.	15,000	0	0
Milk, Butter, Poultry, Eggs, &c. &c.	30,000	0	0
Garden Stuffs, Vegetables, &c.	15,000	0	0
			£202,354 10 0

ESTIMATED VALUE OF LAND IN CULTIVATION, AND
AGRICULTURAL STOCK, SHEWING THE INCREASE
IN NINE YEARS.

Estimated value of land in cultivation, and Agricultural Stock, in 1836,	£277,675 10 0
Estimated value of land in cultivation, and Agricultural Stock, in 1845,	677,046 10 0
	£399,371 0 0

Increase in value of Land in cultivation, and Agricultural Stock, in nine years, from 1836 to 1845, three hundred and ninety-nine thousand three hundred and seventy one pounds.

Annual produce for the year 1836, ...	£191,234 4 0
Annual produce of the year 1845, ...	202,354 10 0
	£11,120 6 0

There must be some material error in the returns—either for the year 1836 or 1845—in respect to the produce. In the former year, with only 11,062½ acres of land in cultivation, the quantity of potatoes is given at 467,250 4-5 barrels. In 1845, with 29,656½ acres in cultivation, there is given only 341,341 barrels; showing a deficiency in the latter year of Potatoes to the extent of 125,909 barrels, which, valuing at 5s. per barrel, amounts to £31,975 5s. This, added to the estimated value of the annual produce for 1845, supposing that the potatoe crop of that year to have equalled the produce for 1836, and there is no doubt whatever of its having far exceeded it, the annual value of Agricultural productions for 1845 would amount to the sum of £233,329 15s.

The produce may appear excessive in reference to the limited amount of land in cultivation, but it must be taken into account that a great portion of it is cultivated as garden ground, highly manured with fish offal. The produce is abundant, particularly of potatoes, the great object with all the small occupiers, who compose a vast majority of the whole. The estimate of the value of land, at twenty pounds per acre, and of stock, without taking into account the land in occupation but not cleared, nearly £700,000, will startle those who have not turned their attention to the subject. It is a curious fact, but not more curious than true, that the depression of the fisheries, and the consequent distress of the people of Newfoundland, have forced into existence, a capital, a permanent capital, almost equal in amount to the whole value of ships, boats, and fishery stock, in the palmy days of monopoly, at any period for centuries past. What has yet been done only forms a *nucleus* for further advancement, and in all probability, before another quarter of a century passes over the heads of the present generation, the agricultural capital of Newfoundland, with other products of industry, will constitute many times the amount of any capital invested in the fisheries; and what is better, unlike that capital, it cannot, when increased in bulk, be removed by migratory birds of passage, to increase the stock and improve the state of every other country but that in which it was produced.

The progress which agricultural improvement has made will be considered very great, when the obstacles and difficulties which stood in its way, are taken into consideration. It was after the peace of 1814, before any countenance was given by the local Government to the cultivation of the soil, that the inhabitants, with a threat of transportation from the land of their nativity or adoption hanging over their heads, and impelled by the all powerful principle of self-preservation, took possession of the land in defiance of the authorities, when some relaxation was made in the

system, and lands were offered by the Government, but on terms and conditions most discouraging. The land was offered on terminable leases of twenty one and thirty years, in some cases renewable, in others not, at annual rents of from two shillings and sixpence to twenty shillings per acre. As if it were to crown the previous absurd system of prohibition, a price was charged fifty times higher than was then asked for the best land in the neighbouring Colonies.

In 1815, Admiral Sir RICHARD KEATS was authorized to grant lands, limiting the grants to about four acres to each person, and subject to the conditions before mentioned. Governor Keats was succeeded by Admiral PICKMORE; during his brief Government the calamitous fires of 1816 and 1817 occurred; many of the inhabitants removed to the neighbouring Colonies, and to Great Britain and Ireland, and except the lands entered on by what are called *squatters*, little progress was made in the granting of land by the Government. In the year 1818, Vice Admiral Sir CHARLES HAMILTON was appointed Governor; he administered the Government from 1818 to 1824, he was, it may be said, the first resident Governor; he was a kind, mild, and benevolent man; understood and took much interest in Agriculture; he made some large grants of land, and on much more favourable terms than were before given. His Excellency Sir THOMAS COCHRANE commenced his Government in 1825. With a determination to give every encouragement to the general cultivation of the soil, he made grants of land of from four to two hundred and fifty acres, on something better terms, but still clogged with restrictions.—Much progress was made in the cultivation of the soil, and in the clearance of waste lands, during his Government.

Sir Thomas was most indefatigable in his endeavours to promote the internal improvement of the country, were it his own estate he could not be more so. He opened

and completed the first main road, from St. John's to Portugal Cove, that was ever made in the Island. It may be said that during the Government of Sir Thomas Cochrane a good foundation was laid for future improvements. In 1834, His Excellency Captain, now Admiral, PRESCOTT, succeeded to the Government, he gave every facility in his power to those who were looking for land from the Government, and modified to the utmost the terms.— Hundreds of poor families were raised into a state of comfort and independence, by the facilities given to clear and cultivate their small lots of ground ; those who placed themselves down upon land without obtaining a title from the Crown were not disturbed. His Excellency himself took much interest in the concerns of the poor struggling people, and to my own knowledge out of his own private fortune, extended munificent assistance to many of them. In consequence, much land was reclaimed from the wilderness. Agriculture made considerable progress during the Government of Captain Prescott ; appropriations to the amount of upwards of thirty thousand pounds were made by the House of Assembly, in the sessions of 1837–1838, for Roads and Bridges. They were opened and made in the neighbourhood of St. John's, and in the other districts of the Island ; as the roads progressed, settlement and cultivation crept along their margin. No matter where a road was opened, persons were soon found to settle upon it.

Captain Prescott, having the direction of these liberal grants of the Legislature, was enabled to make greater internal improvements in the Colony than could be attempted by any of his predecessors. To his government must be accorded much of the merit of the Agricultural improvement of Newfoundland.

His successor, Sir JOHN HARVEY, assuming the Government of Newfoundland in 1841, after a long residence in, and a perfect knowledge of the soil, in the neighbouring Colonies of the Canadas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and

Prince Edward Island, proclaimed himself a zealous, it may be said an enthusiastic advocate, for the Agricultural improvement of the Colony placed under his Government. He pronounced the soil and climate as a whole, not inferior to any of the North American Colonies for Agricultural purposes. From the day he landed to the day of his departure, he gave his most strenuous and cordial support to the Agricultural improvement of the country. He dispelled the prejudices that so long prevailed. Agricultural pursuits, so long proscribed, sanctioned by his authority became fashionable. Many who had previously ridiculed them became sincere converts to the advantages and the practicability of Agriculture. These doctrines which were ridiculed coming from persons of less note, became "confirmation strong" when promulgated by the Governor. "A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn." A very general opinion soon prevailed amongst all parties, that the clearance of the land, and using it for Agricultural purposes, was the best and only means of providing employment and subsistence for the large population that grew up in the Colony, and who could not find employment in the fisheries.

His Excellency recommended to the local Legislature to make large appropriations for the making of Roads and Bridges, which recommendation was most promptly responded to. Some forty thousand pounds were voted, with the sums before granted, a larger amount than was expended in the internal improvement of the Island from the days of Henry VII. The construction of Roads and Bridges was carried on with great spirit; little farms and settlements appeared contemporaneously with the roads; the value of land rapidly increased, particularly in the neighbourhood of St John's, and other populous settlements; population increased; ground previously occupied for meadows and gardens was required for building lots; places that not more than five or six years ago, were let for from five to ten pounds per annum, suddenly became

in demand at twenty times their previous value. It may be said that landed property quadrupled in value during the eminently successful Government of Sir John Harvey. The most important measure of Sir John Harvey's Government, in reference to the Agricultural improvement of Newfoundland, is the law for the sale and regulation of the Crown Lands.

Her Majesty consented, and with a truly Royal bounty, to grant the whole of the land to Her loyal subjects resident in the Colony.

Newfoundland is no longer to be hoarded as a "Royal wilderness." The people will ever entertain a grateful sense of Her Majesty's Royal beneficence. It is only those acquainted with the partial mode of disposing of land which prevailed in Prince Edward Island, and in most others of the modern North American Colonies, that can form a correct estimate of the vast boon that has been conferred.

The main principles affirmed by the Land Act :

1st—That all lands should be sold at public auction, subject to a moderate upset price.

2d—That not more than 100 acres should be put up in one lot.

3d—That public notice shall be given by the publication in the newspapers of all land sales.

4th—That all persons in the occupation of land without grants from the Crown, should be confirmed in their titles and occupation.

5th—That the proceeds of all sales of land shall be paid into the public Treasury, to be appropriated for the internal improvement of the Colony.

This great boon to Newfoundland may be traced to the proceedings of the House of Assembly in 1837, who made

a report on the state of Agriculture, and the mode of disposing of waste lands.

"Your Committee have enquired into the present mode of disposing of the waste lands of the Colony by the local Government, and find that it is sold at a stipulated price; the same system has been adopted in the disposal of lands in the Island, which has been introduced recently into the neighbouring Colonies, at the same time that there is a wide difference in the present state of these countries.

"It may be said that Newfoundland, as far as Agriculture is concerned, is in its infancy. The land is generally considered inferior, and requires great labour to bring it into cultivation. The long favoured Colonies of Nova-Scotia, New-Brunswick, and the Canadas, were considered from their first settlement purely Agricultural countries; the lands are good, and thousands, and we may say millions, of British money have been expended in improving them. Whatever improvement has taken place in the lands in Newfoundland, has arisen altogether from the labour and industry of the people; one shilling has not been expended by the Government for the encouragement of Agriculture, but, on the contrary, cultivation was, down to a late period, altogether prohibited, and since a reluctant consent has been given to the people to clear the sterile soil, a rent in the first place, and now a price, has been put upon the land, in many instances ten times higher than the rent charged for better land in the neighbouring Colonies.

"On the first settlement in nearly all the British Colonies, the settlers instead of being charged with rent for the lands, were supported for a considerable time at the expense of the Government, and were even supplied with Agricultural implements to enable them to settle down upon the lands. The foundation of the present improvements in Newfoundland was laid by poor industrious people, who, in direct opposition to the wretched and unnatural policy of the Government, and in the face of the prohibition, ventured to clear small spots of ground in the neighbourhood of populous districts. It was their labour that made the lands valuable. It is the decided opinion of your Committee that instead of this industri-

this class being charged a rent or price for the land, they ought to obtain a bounty for improving it.

"Your Committee, strongly impressed with the necessity and sound policy of giving further encouragement to the cultivation of the waste lands of Newfoundland, recommend that an immediate representation be made to Her Majesty's Government on the subject, stating particularly that it would be most conducive to the general interests of the Colony, if small parcels of waste land were given to industrious persons desirous to clear them, free of rent and all other charges."—*Extract—Report of House of Assembly, 1837.*

A petition to Her Majesty was forwarded, with the report, which, among other things stated :

"It may truly be said, that lands in Newfoundland remain in their primeval state, with the exception of some small lots that have been cleared in the neighbourhood of the settlements on the sea shore. The interior of this large and extensive Island not only remains uncultivated but unexplored. It is the received opinion that the soil of Newfoundland is not so good as the soil in the neighbouring Colonies of New-Brunswick, Nova-Scotia, and the Canadas ; however, it has been found in every instance where skill and industry have been used, amply to repay the husbandman's toil ; and when it is taken into consideration the advantages that the Agriculturist must have in finding a ready market at his door for all his produce amply afforded by the fisheries, there can be but little doubt that under due encouragement the Agricultural settler will find in Newfoundland equal advantages with any of the neighbouring Colonies.

"The fisheries of Newfoundland are at present supplied with Agricultural produce from the North of Europe, the United States of America, and the neighbouring Colonies—it may be said that no material part is supplied from Great Britain or Ireland ; the whole, or nearly the whole, of the provisions necessary for the maintenance of the inhabitants, and now imported from Foreign countries, might, under a more favourable system of Agriculture, be produced in this Island, thereby giving employment and support to your Majesty's subjects improving and

cultivating the country, which would afford a comfortable asylum to thousands of able fishermen and others, who now, in want of such settlement, are obliged to emigrate to the United States of America, and the neighbouring Colonies.

"It is only within the last twenty years that general permission has been given to the inhabitants to cultivate the soil of Newfoundland. It will scarcely be believed at this happy era of your Majesty's accession to the throne of your ancestors, when the people in the most distant parts of your extensive Empire look forward with unbounded confidence and hope to the just, mild, and merciful Government of your Majesty, that for upwards of two centuries the cultivation of the soil in Newfoundland was considered a criminal offence, and prohibited under the severest restrictions and prohibitions; this withering and desolating policy was the cause why your Majesty's Colony of Newfoundland did not improve in the same rapid progression with the other colonies in its neighbourhood.

"Representations have been made from the earliest period to the parent Government, that the extreme severity of the climate and the sterility of the soil of Newfoundland formed insurmountable obstacles to cultivation. If these representations are correct, the House of Assembly would humbly submit to your Majesty, that there can be no necessity for creating further obstacles beyond those raised by nature herself.

"But may it please your Majesty, these were false representations made by persons, who, from corrupt or interested motives of their own, attempted to arrest the order of Providence, and prevent the people of Newfoundland from receiving that support and sustenance from the soil which God and nature intended it to afford.

"The House of Assembly therefore have most humbly to bring the subject under your Majesty's benign consideration, with the certain hope that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to give every encouragement, and remove every restriction to the cultivation of the soil of your Majesty's ancient and loyal Colony of Newfoundland."

A most gracious reply was promptly given to the Petition of the House of Assembly.

THE DESPATCH OF LORD GLENELG.

" No. 166.

" DOWNING STREET,
" 3rd January, 1838. }

" Sir,—

" I have received and have laid before the Queen the Address of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland, of the 23d October, enclosed in your Despatch of the 9th ult., No. 67, and referred to in your previous Despatch, No. 64, praying the removal of restrictions to the cultivation of the soil of the Island. Her Majesty was pleased to receive that Address very graciously, and to command me to return the following answer,

" In the result of a very extensive enquiry and much reflection, Her Majesty's Government have been led to the conclusion that the waste lands in all the British Colonies ought to be disposed of in no other manner than by public auction, to the highest bidder, at a fixed up-set price. That price must of course vary in different Colonies, but should be fixed in each from time to time with a careful reference to the exchangeable value and ordinary price of wild land in that particular Colony.

" This system is in force throughout British North America, and in all the Australian settlements,

" I enclose for your information copies of the Acts of Assembly, recently passed for this purpose in New Brunswick and in Upper Canada; and I am to convey to you Her Majesty's authority to assent on her behalf to any Act which may be passed for a similar purpose by the Council and Assembly of Newfoundland, if framed upon the same principles, and containing no clauses otherwise objectionable.

" For your guidance in the meantime, I transmit a copy of the Land Regulations now in force in the Australian Settlements.

" With the assistance of the Council these regulations may readily be adapted to the local circumstances of Newfoundland, and when so adapted you will take them as the rule for your Government in the alienation of the

lands of the Crown, until some Legislative provision shall have been made for that purpose.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed)

"GLENELG."

Captain PRESCOTT, &c., &c., &c.

A Bill was introduced into the House of Assembly in accordance with the despatch of Lord Glenelg, in which was introduced all the leading principles of the present law. Sale by auction at an upset price—the appropriation of the land fund—and an affirmation of title to all persons in occupation of land, at the passing of the Act. The Bill received great care and consideration in the House of Assembly. On its transmission to the Council, instead of attempting to improve its defects, it met the fate of most measures emanating from that body; it was thrown aside with neglect, if not with contempt.

After the rising of the Legislature, it appears the Governor called upon the Attorney General to draft a Bill, which, with the Bill passed by the House of Assembly was transmitted to the Secretary of State. The Bill of the Attorney General was strongly recommended and highly praised by Captain Prescott in his despatch No. 51, July 20th, 1840, who says—

"The Bill of the Attorney General will doubtless receive some modification when under discussion in the Legislature, but its principle seems to me unobjectionable, and it must be considered beyond all comparison superior to the other"!!!

It appears that both Bills were submitted for the consideration of the Commissioners of Colonial Lands and Emigration, who reported thereon. Their report, dated 30th October, 1840, was approved of by Lord John Russell, who in his despatch transmitting the report was pleased to say—

"The general opinions expressed by these gentlemen meet with my concurrence. I shall, however, be ready to concede to the present occupiers of land in the Colony;

such advantages in the peculiar circumstances of Newfoundland as may appear to you equitable to these persons, and beneficial to the community at large."

In 1843, the first session of the Amalgamated Legislature, the Attorney General introduced a Bill predicated upon his previous draft, with some amendments of the Commissioners of Land and Emigration. After much discussion this Bill had to be withdrawn, the House having almost unanimously preferred the principles contained in the Bill of the House of Assembly, in affirmation they passed a series of resolutions :—

" That all ungranted land in the Colony should be disposed of by public auction.

" That the casual and territorial revenue should be appropriated by the Legislature."

These resolutions were embodied in an address to His Excellency Sir John Harvey, who no doubt recommended them to the favourable consideration of Lord STANLEY, who then presided over the Colonies. His Lordship at once conceded the principles contended for. In the succeeding session of the Legislature a Bill was introduced again by the Attorney General on the principles before stated, which was enacted with the approval and satisfaction of all parties.

It is only an act of justice to your Lordship's predecessor, Lord Stanley, to acknowledge the obligations which the country owe him for his readiness in conceding points, which if left unsettled, would cause much irritation, and remain a bone of contention between the local authorities, the House of Assembly, and the occupiers of land. It is, I may add, as far as I have an opportunity of judging, in perfect unison with all his Lordship's proceedings in respect to Newfoundland, which were marked with great consideration, sound judgment, and conciliation.

The question of the disposal of the land fund may be a matter of importance to a few persons, into whose pock-

ets it is sure to find its way. The surplus will be easily disposed of. It is a matter of little consideration to the local Government, and of no consideration at all to the parent Government. The main object must be that the land be occupied, cleared, and cultivated ; if what may be realized from the sale was to be thrown into the *sea*, it would be of little consequence.

The next difficulty arose in respect of those who had placed themselves down upon the land without title. The peculiar circumstances of the persons in Newfoundland, who had set themselves down upon the land, for whom might be claimed in the words of Lord John Russell an "equitable consideration," to attempt exacting from them any sum, ever so small, would be attended with such difficulty that it would not pay the expense of collecting. It would give rise to discontent, distrust, and annoyance ; to every thing but revenue. To these people, squatters we may call them, is due the merit of the Agricultural improvement, in the great labour and privations, without aid or encouragement from any quarter, with which they made war upon the wilderness. To their labour and exertions is due the value which the lands have attained. To use the language of the profound and benevolent Lord Glenelg, to a similar class in another Colony, they were indeed the pioneers of civilization.

The Land Act secures them in their titles, they comprise nine tenths of the possessors of land in the Colony.—Lord Stanley, I again repeat, is entitled to the gratitude of the country for recommending this measure for the sanction of the Queen. It is neither more or less than a grant of the whole territory to her faithful and loyal subjects, a gift in every way worthy of our beloved and gracious Sovereign.

It may be said that the passing of the Land Act was, in reference to the Agricultural improvement of the country, the crowning measure of Sir John Harvey's Govern-

ment. The absurd prejudices that so long prevailed against the soil and climate were dissipated. The long disputed problem whether Newfoundland was fitted for agricultural purposes was triumphantly solved.

In support of the opinions and facts, I have in a most discursive manner presented for your Lordship's consideration, to prove the advantages and facilities which Newfoundland offers for cultivation, settlement, and colonization, I shall add those of His Excellency Sir John Harvey in his speech to the Legislature in 1843, and of Captain Whitbourne, in a representation to His Majesty James I., 1622. Nearly two centuries and a half have rolled away since Captain Whitbourne, who held a commission, as he says himself, under "the broad seal of the Admiralty," and presided over the first Court of Justice that was ever established in Newfoundland, strongly recommended the colonization, and highly eulogised the soil. Though distant the period, the opinions are identical, both strongly recommend the colonization and settlement of the country.

"Most dread Soueraigne: It is to be seene by the *Cosmographer's* maps, and well approued, that the *Newfoundland* is an Island bordering vpon the continent of *America*, from which it is diuided by the sea; so farre distant as *England* is from the neerest part of *France*, and lieth betwene 46 and 53 degrees North latitude; it is as spacious as *Ireland*, and lyes neere that ships vsually hold in their returne from the *West Indies*, and neere halfe the way betwene *Ireland* and *Virginia*.

"I shall not much neede to commend the wholesome temperature of that countrey, seeing the greatest parte thereof lieth aboue foure degrees nearer to the south, than any part of *England* doth.

"And it hath beene well approued by some of our Nation, who haue liued there many yeeres, that in the winter season it is as pleasant and healthful as *England* is.

"And although the example of one summer be no certaine rule for other yeeres; yet thus much also can I truly

affirme, that in the yeere 1615, of the many thousand of *English, French, Portugals*, and others, that were then vpon that coast (amongst whom I sailed to and fro more than one hundred and fifty leagues,) I neither saw nor heard in all that travell of any man or boy of either of these Nations that dyed there during the whole voyage; neither was there so much as any one of them sick.

"But I will not insist vpon further particulars of Harbours in this place, seeing our men that yeerely trade to that coast, know them to be as good and commodious Harbours as any other whatsoeuer.

"The soyle of this countrey in the valleys and sides of the mountaines is so fruitfull, as that in diuers places, there the summer naturally produceth out of the fruitfull wombe of the earth, without the labour of man's hands, great plenty of green pease and fitches, faire, round, full and wholesome as our fitches are in *England*; of which I have there sed on many times: the haumes of them are good fodder for cattell and other beasts in the winter, with the helpe of hay; of which there may be made great store with little labour in diuers places of the country.

"This being the natural fruitfulnessse of the earth, producing such varietie of things fit for food without the labour of man; I might in reason hence inferre, that if the same were manured and husbanded in some places, as our grounds are, it would be apt to bear corne, and no less fertill than the *English* soyle.

"But I neede not confine myself to probabilities; seeing our men that haue wintered there diuers yeeres, did for a triall and experiment thereof, sowe some small quantities of corne, which I saw growing very faire; and they found the increase to bee great, and the grain very good; and it is well known to me, and diuers that trade there yeerely, how that cabbage, carrots, turneps, lettice, parsley, and such like, proue well there."—*Whitbourne's Representation to James I., 1622.*

Sir JOHN HARVEY, in his speech to the Legislature, in 1843, says:—

"Upon the subject of Roads, of Agriculture, and of Immigration generally, I know not that I can place my ideas more forcibly before you, than by inviting your at-

tention to some observations having reference to those deeply interesting objects, which were addressed by me to a public meeting held in this city in January last, for the purpose of forming a Society for the encouragement of Agriculture, of which a copy will be laid before you, and which you will perceive from the copy of the despatch from the Right Hon. the Secretary of State, by which they will be accompanied, have obtained the approbation of Her Majesty's Government. I would at the same time express my inmost conviction that the subject is one which more closely connects itself with the future prosperity, happiness, and independence of Her Majesty's loyal subjects of Newfoundland, than appears to be generally supposed. And here I will not deny myself the satisfaction of recording this public declaration of my conviction, derived from such observation and information as a residence in the Island for upwards of a year has enabled me to acquire, that both as respects climate and agricultural capabilities, Newfoundland in many respects need not shrink from a comparison with the most favoured Provinces of British America. Its summers though short enjoy an extraordinary degree of vegetative power, which only requires to be duly taken advantage of;—its winters are neither unusually long or severe; and its autumnal seasons are as open and fine as those of any of the surrounding Colonies;—and though the Island generally does not abound in timber, yet amply sufficient is found for every useful purpose; and in point of *rich natural grasses*, no part of British North America produces greater abundance. Newfoundland, in fact, appears to me to be calculated to become essentially a rich grazing country, and its varied agricultural resources appear only to require roads and settlements to force them into highly remunerative developement. But in a country where those treasures and capabilities are only partially found, it is obviously expedient that the ordinary rules of improvement should be departed from to suit its particular circumstances. Thus, in the original settlement of the timber growing Colonies, individual enterprise and improvement have generally *preceded roads*, which have been subsequently constructed for the purpose of connecting detached settlements with each other, or with navigable waters; but circumstanced as in this Island, having

few navigable streams, interior settlement can only *follow* explorations and surveys, and the construction of practicable roads of communication with the common highway, 'the sea.'

"In connexion in some measure with the preceding remarks, I would observe to you that Newfoundland appears to stand alone among the Western Colonies of the British Empire, in several very essential respects. 1st—That she is without practicable roads of communication for connecting the various settlements of the Island with the provincial capital and themselves with each other. And 2dly—without a Militia force of any kind. So long as this unexampled state of things, more especially as respects the roads, is suffered to continue, this Colony must remain—what it would appear to have been designed to keep it—little beyond a *fishing station*. Emigration to it, beyond the number of labourers required for the prosecution of that single pursuit, cannot be expected; no other encouragement being held out. But by opening up its interior by means of good roads and communications, upon lines carefully surveyed and carried through lands, and it is known that such are to be found, capable of repaying the labour of the settler, and therefore holding out inducement to that class of emigrants, you will, as I have elsewhere said, 'discover treasures which though they may not offer in the first instance rewards so tempting, and so immediately available as those of the surrounding deep, are nevertheless quite as essential to the prosperity of your Island home as are the fisheries themselves.'"

I hope I have adduced sufficient facts and arguments to prove the agricultural capabilities and resources of Newfoundland. Its position on the map of the world ought to afford to any reasoning mind sufficient evidence of its agricultural capabilities, and its history shows how long a great country may be retarded in improvement by a combination of selfish ignorance, tyranny and corruption. In discussing the important question of settlement and colonization, it may be asked, "Why, if Newfoundland possessed such material advantages, has it come to pass that it so long remained an unoccupied waste?" The best reply that can be made to the interrogatory is, first, that there was an

absolute prohibition to settlement and cultivation ; and secondly, that when that prohibition was in some degree removed, there was no adequate encouragement given to these objects. It may be laid down as an indisputable proposition, that not one of the English Colonies, old or new, has been settled or cultivated without aid being afforded either by Government or private enterprise. On Massachusetts, Virginia, Nova-Scotia, the Canadas, New South Wales, and New Zealand, vast sums have been expended in their settlement, and it is more than problematical, whether any one of them would be settled by the first emigrants, were it not for such aid.

Newfoundland in this respect formed a striking exception to the other Colonies, old and new. The first emigrants enriched themselves from her inexhaustible mines, carried everything away from the Colony, left it nothing, not one shilling (except what has been expended by her much maligned Local Legislature) has been contributed by the Parent Government, or by private parties, towards her settlement and colonization. The adventurers to Newfoundland amassed vast fortunes, with which, when realized, they retired from the country, leaving it even poorer and more wretched than they found it. The cause which operated against the settlement of Newfoundland is quite apparent, and may be demonstrated without difficulty.

Newfoundland was inhabited and resorted to ;—her fisheries afforded employment to many hundred ships, and thousands of British, French, Portuguese, and Spanish seamen and fishermen, more than a century before any of the British Colonies now forming the Federal Republic of America were settled.

The fisheries of Newfoundland, soon after its discovery in 1497, became an object of great importance, and were extensively prosecuted. In 1608 the first settlement was made in New England. It was weak and ill directed, did

not succeed, and for some time after there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the sake of trading with the savages, and like them disappeared again for the rest of the year. In 1621 forty-one families, making in all one hundred and twenty persons, embarked for the Colony.— They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which afforded a very melancholy prospect to men already exhausted with the fatigues of their voyage. Near one half perished, either by cold, the scurvy, or distress. In 1630, Boston became the principal settlement. Virginia was first settled in 1607. The emigrants, instead of at once turning to the cultivation of the soil, as the only certain means of subsistence, lost their time in a visionary pursuit of gold and silver, mistaking glittering sand which they found in a rivulet for silver, the first and only employment of the new Colonists was to collect it. As long as the infatuation lasted, the Colonists disdained to employ themselves in clearing the land, so that a dreadful famine was at last the consequence of this foolish pride. Sixty men only remained alive, out of five hundred that came from Europe. These few having only a fortnight's provisions left, *were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland*, when Lord DELAWARE arrived there, with three ships, a fresh Colony, and supplies of all kinds.”—*Abbe Raynal*, vol. 4.

The difficulties which the first settlers in Virginia had to contend with are summed up by another account: “The colonization was commenced at Jamestown, in May, 1607, by a company of one hundred persons. In a month the hundred dwindled to fifty, and soon after to thirty-eight. In 1609, the Colony had been increased by successive reinforcements to five hundred souls; six months after it dwindled to sixty. In 1611 the population had increased to two hundred. In 1622, when the number of settlers had be-

come still greater, 347 men, women, and children, were destroyed by the Indians. In 1624, to use the words of Judge MARSHALL, about £150,000 had been expended in planting the Colony; and more than 9,000 persons had been sent from Europe to people it, and yet at the end of seventeen years the population was reduced to 1,800 persons."

If the colonization of the other English colonies were not attended with the same difficulties and calamities as New England and Virginia, yet considerable expense had to be incurred, most of which was advanced, not I believe by Government, but by private parties. The just and liberal system of colonization adopted for Maryland and Pennsylvania was forwarded by the private means of the projectors, Lord BALTIMORE and Mr. PENN.

The old Colonies received little aid from the Government; the settlers had to fly to the wilds of America for protection from the despotic tyranny of the Stuarts; and the no less intolerable fanatical tyranny of the Parliament and Cromwell. Men of high station, character, and substance, were amongst the emigrants. They carried with them considerable capital, which with their indomitable courage, perseverance, and industry, laid the foundation of that Republican Empire, which is now rapidly increasing into such vast and unwieldy extent, and like other celebrated Republics, ambitious and rapacious.

For a century before these countries, now forming the United States, were settled, vast wealth was extracted from Newfoundland. The adventurers to these Colonies brought with them Science, Labour, and Capital, for their improvement. The adventurers to Newfoundland extracted millions from its resources, without expending one shilling in its internal improvement. I have already stated that if common justice were done to the country, it would be at this day the most populous and weathy portion of North America. If only a portion of the capital raised from the

fishery had at an early period been expended in the cultivation of the soil, and in the promotion of colonization, there cannot be a reasonable doubt, that every acre of cultivable land in the colony would be in useful occupation, and millions of inhabitants spread over the vast now unoccupied wastes of Newfoundland.

The ancient British Colonies were aided, if not by the Government, by the capital, skill, and industry of private parties, in their progress towards settlement and colonization. It was for the modern Colonies that the munificence, I may say the profusion of Government, was reserved.

In 1748, the Parent Government commenced the colonization of Nova Scotia, advertised for settlers—large grants of land were offered—and also means for its cultivation, and subsistence until the land made returns. For that purpose 3760 adventurers with their families were entered for embarkation according to the order of the Board of Trade. Application having been made to Parliament, £40,000 were voted to defray the expense of their removal, "the liberality of this grant enabling Government to make ample provision for their comfort and support. They set sail in the beginning of May 1749, under the command of the Honourable EDWARD CORNWALLIS, whom the King had appointed their Governor, and towards the latter end of June arrived at Chibucto Harbour, (now Halifax) the place of their destination. At that time the whole of the country bordering on Chibucto was covered by woods to the water's edge. The cold and sterile soil on both sides of the harbour was clothed with the beautiful verdure of the spruce and fir, whose umbrageous limbs concealed the rocks which were scattered in profusion on its surface, and which were doomed to disappoint the hopes, and defeat the labour of the inexperienced settlers. As they passed up the harbour they noticed several canoes filled with savages, who approached within a convenient distance, to

observe the motions of the strangers ; and then fled with inconceivable rapidity.—*Haliburton's History*, vol. 1 page 138.

In 1750 and 1751, Government induced by great encouragement a number of German Protestants to emigrate to Nova Scotia. In these years, near 2,000 persons embarked at Rotterdam, and were settled down at Lunenburg, now a populous thriving settlement. In seven years, from 1748 to 1755, the sum of £445,584 14s. 11d., was expended in the new settlement. Mr. Burke had some reason to exclaim, in his speech in 1780, on economical reform: "The Province of Nova Scotia was the youngest and the favourite child of the Board. Good God! what sums the nursing of that ill-thriven, hard-visaged, and ill-favoured brat has cost to this wittol nation. Sir, this Colony has stood us in a sum not less than seven hundred thousand pounds. To this day it has made no repayment, it does not even support those offices of expense which are miscalled its Government. The whole of that job still lies upon the patient, callous shoulders of the people of England."

It cost England upwards of a million for the colonization of Nova-Scotia.

The cost for the colonization, protection, and settlement of the Canadas, goes beyond counting. It may be stated by tens of millions, without reference to the vast expenditure at an earlier period. Some idea may be formed of the facilities for settlement and colonization in Canada, from the following summary of vast recent public improvements in Canada, taken from a statement of Sir FRANCIS BOND HEAD.

"Magnificent harbours have been fortified, valuable fisheries and timber trade established, and mines in operation. On Macadamised roads upwards of two hundred thousand pounds has already been expended, also an immense sum in plank roads.

"On the Rideau Canal upwards of one million; on the Welland Canal half a million; on the St. Lawrence Ca-

nal more than three hundred thousand pounds. On the Lachine about one hundred thousand, besides large sums on the Grand River Navigation, Tay Navigation, innumerable mills of various descriptions have been constructed; lastly, and in addition to the above, a million and a half sterling, the late loan from the mother country, either has been expended or is at this moment expending on public works and improvements of various descriptions."—*Sir F. B. Head's Emigrant*, page 86.

The direct cost to England, for the colonization of the Timber Colonies of the Canadas, Nova-Scotia, New-Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, is possibly not the largest item in the account. The cost in the form of discriminating protecting duties in the timber trade, must for the last thirty years rise to an enormous amount. According to a statement made by Mr. Huskisson, in his celebrated speech on the shipping interest in 1827, the duties paid on British North American timber for the year ending 5th January, 1827, was £241,045 12s. 10d. The amount of duty, which would have been received on the same articles, if they had been charged with the rates of duty payable on similar articles imported from the Baltic £1,519,636 1s. 1d.; showing a charge, the difference between the two amounts, of one million two hundred and seventy eight thousand and ninety pounds eight shillings and three pence, no small annual charge for the clearance of the wilds of the Canadas, New Brunswick, and the other North American Timber Colonies. It was, I believe, the late Governor General of Canada, Mr. CHARLES POULET THOMPSON, when a member of the House of Commons, that said, that if all the ships engaged in the North American timber trade were paid full freights for pleasure trips on the Atlantic, England would gain by it, provided the duties on British and North American were equalised with Foreign timber.

It is no matter for surprise that Canada should be surfeited by so many streams, for the promotion of emigration

and colonization, and that she should reject the gigantic plan of Mr. GODLY, or indeed any other, she has as much on her hands as she can well manage.

Here I would draw your Lordship's attention to the singular contrast which England's oldest settlement presents to these more favoured Colonies, and would ground upon it strong claims for consideration, in forwarding her internal improvement. The produce of the one has to find sale in the markets of the world, open to all nations; to contend with a competition raised by foreigners in the sale of fish, drawn from her own shores; supported by exorbitant bounties, while the produce of the others is secured in the English markets by protective duties which operate in the nature of a bounty, and which have cost the English people countless millions. In stating the account, the contrast will appear more striking. Since the reign of Henry VII., certainly from that of Elizabeth, the exports from Newfoundland averaged annually from four hundred thousand pounds to one million sterling, chiefly realized in the markets of foreign countries for *specie*, all of which was transmitted to England; whilst British capital was finding its way by one continuous stream for the improvement and colonization of the other Colonies, Newfoundland capital was flowing for centuries for the benefit and improvement of England.

The encouragement given to the Colonies of New South Wales and New Zealand, equals that given to the Timber Colonies. It appears that passages were provided for emigrants, lands were granted, convict labour given to the settlers for their clearance, and afterwards payment made to them for maintenance of their own labourers.

"In 1824, a notice from Sir THOMAS BRISBANE was published, stating that one hundred acres of land would be granted to a settler for every convict whom he might have maintained for twelve months, in addition to every convict he was required to employ for every hundred acres of his

original grant, so that in fact the Governor provided the settler with servants to cultivate his land, and then paid him for keeping the servants. An emancipated convict was entitled to fifty acres, and to be supported until he put his land in a state of cultivation."

Mr. E. G. WAKEFIELD, in his evidence, when asked, "Do you know on what condition the Australian Agricultural Company of London obtained a grant of one million of acres of land?"

Answer—"Chiefly on condition of employing a certain number of convicts, which condition was in fact a boon; not only do the Government bestow a million of acres upon the Company, but they also bestow on them, under the name of a condition or burden, a boon of labour wherewith to cultivate the land."

"Governor BURKE gave a bounty of thirty pounds with a free grant of land, to every married man."—*Evidence Committee House of Commons*, 1836.

The colonization of New Zealand has been forwarded by aid from Government, as well as by private enterprise and capital.

The proposition which I have been endeavouring to demonstrate, by referring to so many examples both of ancient and modern British colonization, is, that in every case, the emigrants were aided by the Government or by private parties. Newfoundland, in that respect, forms an exception to all England's Colonies. It may be said that not one shilling has been expended either by the Government or by private parties in the colonization of Newfoundland, with the exception of the attempt made by Sir GEORGE CALVERT,* to whom the Province of *Avalon*, extending over a considerable portion of the Southern and Western part of the Island, was granted by James I. He formed a settlement at Ferryland, which prospered for

*Sir George Calvert was father to Lord Baltimore.

some years, until his successor, Lord BALTIMORE, who also was settled for some time at Ferryland, unfortunately for Newfoundland, withdrew for the purpose of settling his new Colony of Maryland.

Men of the first families in England, possessed of ample means, of indomitable enterprise, laid the foundation of the early English Colonies. The parent Government, with a most unexampled lavish expenditure, laid the foundation of the later ones.

The emigrants were conveyed at the public expense to their places of destination, they were put in possession of the best lands, supplied with every means for the cultivation of the ground, supported at the public expense until they could support themselves from the produce. Roads were made, and vast public works were formed; the parent country placed herself under the worst system of taxation to promote their trade. In short everything was done to promote their advancement; it is therefore not at all a matter of surprise, that they should have made such progress in settlement and colonization. Newfoundland, devoted, neglected, much injured Newfoundland; what a contrast she presents. Laws prohibiting cultivation, one Governor denouncing the cultivators of her soil, threatening to punish them as felons, another recommending the transportation of every female from the *Island*, and prohibiting any further arrivals.

“The world was a waste, the garden was a wild,
And man, the hermit, sighed, till woman smiled.”

The emancipated convicts in New South Wales had lands assigned to them, and were supplied at the public expense. Governor Burke not only gave land, but a bounty of thirty pounds to every new married man—woman was banished from Newfoundland. It is not necessary for me to adduce further proof to show how the settlement of every other Colony was promoted, and how that of Newfoundland has been retarded.

I have, I fear, exhausted your Lordship's patience in the succession of repetitions to which I have resorted, to show the obstructions which have stood in the way of the colonization of Newfoundland, these have been mainly removed; it is, however, evident, that much of the injurious effects remains. As an example, during all the discussions that have taken place in Parliament for the last twenty years on the subjects of emigration and colonization. In the schemes of Mr. WILMOT HORTON, or Mr. GOODLY's; down to the interesting debate on Lord LINCOLN's motion on the 2d June, I do not recollect even the most distant allusion having been made to Newfoundland, as a desirable or a suitable place for forming a British Colony.

Amongst the various projects for colonization, extending to the Antipodes, from the rising to the setting sun, in unhealthy climates, under a vertical sun, Newfoundland, situate within a few days sail from the British coast, a country as large as Ireland, the most healthy climate in the world, capable of employing millions of inhabitants, appears either intentionally or ignorantly altogether passed over.

" 'Tis distance gives enchantment to the view,
And robes the mountain in its azure hue."

I have endeavoured to show to your Lordship that it presents every requisite as a field for successful colonization, and that it affords the very best security for the investment of British capital, and what is more, that in the face of the greatest difficulties, unaided from any quarter, it has, within a few years, made considerable progress in settlement and agriculture.

I do not expect that opinions put forth so imperfectly, coming from a person so humble and of so little consideration, can have much effect in removing that prejudice, but if I should be so fortunate as to induce your Lordship to turn your enlightened mind to the consideration of the

practicability and policy of colonizing Newfoundland, and forming in it one great British community, I have not the slightest shadow of doubt that it would not be again passed over in any future scheme of transatlantic colonization.

Having said so much on the subject, it may be expected that I would be prepared with a plan for the purpose. Taking counsel from higher authority I shall not venture to propose a plan of my own; I will, however, venture to throw out some suggestions for the consideration of your Lordship. It was the opinion of Mr. Burke, that Colonies should be left in a great degree to themselves, he condemned much Governmental interference, he eulogised the ancient Colonial policy for its "wise and salutary neglect," he condemned the expenditure by the parent Government of large sums of money. "That Colony," (Georgia,) Mr. Burke says, in his speech on economical reform, "has cost the nation very great sums of money, whereas the Colonies which have had the good fortune of not being god-fathered by the Board of Trade, never cost the nation a shilling, except what has been so properly spent in losing them."

I shall not take upon myself to recommend any application to the parent Government for an advance of money for the colonization of Newfoundland. I am clearly of an opinion that the means, resources, and credit of the Colony, if only fostered by the parent Government, and judiciously and economically administered and managed by the local Government, will be found quite adequate for all purposes, to promote a steady progressive system of settlement and colonization. The only plan, if it can be so denominated, that I have to propose for the colonization of Newfoundland is, raising on loan, about forty thousand pounds per year, for ten successive years, to be expended in public works, principally in opening and making main lines of roads throughout the Island. This loan to

be raised on the credit of the Colony, and to be guaranteed by the parent Government, the Colony making arrangements for the payment of principal and interest, and securing it permanently on the Colonial Revenue. Supposing the loan to be raised at three per cent., to be paid off by annual instalments at six and a half per cent., to pay principal and interest, the principal and interest could be paid off in less than twenty years from the time of receiving each instalment.

As a further security for the loan, the proceeds of the sale of waste lands should be exclusively appropriated for that purpose, a fund which, if the loan is expended in the way contemplated, will greatly add to the security. It will not be questioned that the value of land within half a mile on either side of a new road, is many times greater than the expense of making the road, even according to the limited extent of roads made in Newfoundland. This statement can be satisfactorily proved. In less than twenty years, under a judicious system of expenditure of the four hundred thousand pounds, the land on the margin of the roads would be worth many millions. I make this proposition under the expectation that the most stringent precautions should be taken to prevent jobbing, and that the whole expenditure should take place in the making and construction of roads and bridges, and other necessary works for the promotion of settlement and agriculture. Young as Newfoundland is in road making, I regret to say, that though the local law regulating the expenditure is probably the most perfect in force in any of the British North American Colonies, yet in the teeth of that law, many instances of jobbing can be pointed out, in the expenditure of the small amount appropriated by the Legislature for roads, that would rival many of the jobs celebrated in the history of Irish Grand Jury appropriations, the main object with Commissioners appears to be, to defeat, instead of carry-

ing out the law. In advising the loan for the purpose of promoting colonization by the opening and making of roads and bridges, it is with the understanding that it should be fairly, *bona fide* expended for that purpose, with the least possible deduction for contingent expenses.

The whole of my suggestions for the colonization of Newfoundland are contained in the simple proposition of granting a loan to Newfoundland, for the opening and making of roads, and the construction of bridges. The local Legislature, with such aid would be enabled to make such arrangements for the encouragement of emigration, and the location of settlers, as they might think judicious and advisable. I fully and entirely agree in opinion with Lord JOHN RUSSELL, expressed on Lord LINCOLN's motion,—“Of all the plans that have been under consideration, that which appears to me to be the most practical is that of aiding and assisting public works in those Provinces to which emigration is likely to be directed. But I do not think that the adoption of such a plan does depend mainly upon general maxims or upon abstract policy, upon the subject of emigration. I am persuaded of it, not from any reasoning in my own mind on the subject, but because I understand it to be the unanimous testimony of all who are acquainted with the progress of our Colonies in North America. They say that if you send out able-bodied men, who can obtain wages, whether in farm labour or on roads or public works; and who by earning good wages, may come in time to be possessed of a little property, those men will do well, and they may finally become useful settlers and good subjects, and promote the colonization of the Colony; but if you send out men whose habits in the United Kingdom unfit them for such a life, to form small communities in the backwoods of Canada, you will find your settlements will fail.”

If Lord John Russell was giving an account of the settlement of Newfoundland, as far as it has gone, he could not more clearly depict it. The principal cultivators are poor industrious persons, who without any other aid than that obtained from their labour in the fishery, farming, and latterly in the opening and making of roads, have succeeded, many of them having raised themselves to independence, some to affluence.

The experience gained in a few years by employment in the various branches of industry, enabled the parties to judge for themselves—to turn their labour to proper account—to select such places as they most approved of, to the clearance and cultivation of which they turned with cheerfulness and determination. Under such circumstances there have been very few instances of failure. A main portion of the land under cultivation is located in the various harbours close to the shore, and in the neighbourhood of the fishing grounds. The planter has his farm on the one side, and his fishing room and flakes for making and curing fish, on the other. By the joint employment in fishing and farming he is raised into comparative comfort and independence. The benefit that has accrued to many of the poor planters and fishermen of Newfoundland by the transference of part of their labour to the cultivation of the soil, exceeds any description that could be given of it. Fishermen, like sailors, are most improvident. That system of improvidence has extended itself to a lamentable extent amongst the inhabitants. If from the proceeds of a good fishing voyage they can secure their winter's provisions they are satisfied; in general they are in the habit of expending it with reckless profusion. Generous and hospitable, they expend all, making no provision for the future. In the prosperous period of the fishery, this profusion was encouraged by the merchants; their stores were thrown open to them, they encouraged them to run in debt; and, what will scarcely gain credence, if a planter or fisherman became indepen-

dent and paid his account with the merchant, he was dismissed, no longer to be a dealer of his. The attempt of the poor fisherman to make himself independent, was, under the accursed system that prevailed, instead of being rewarded as a virtue, was punished as a crime. It is only by turning the labour and attention of the people to agricultural pursuits, that they can be weaned from their former habits, and taught to practice that economy which alone can secure their present and future comfort and independence.

It is impossible adequately to describe the great difference that exists between those families that have made the land an auxiliary, and those who depend altogether upon what they can earn in the fishery. The one enjoys comparative comfort and independence, the other is in debt and distress. If there is one object deserving of commiseration and pity more than another, it is a poor aged fisherman, after spending his life at the fishery; reduced to poverty and past his ability to labour, if a native of the country, without any provision made for his support in his old age; if an Englishman or an Irishman, even more deplorable, shipped off to be thrown on the quays of Dartmouth or Waterford, to depend upon the chilly charity doled out in the workhouse, or left to perish on the roads or ditches of that native country which disowns him, after spending his youth and manhood in a foreign land. How different the situation of the fisherman who has cleared and cultivated a small patch of ground, with a warm homestead, with a horse, cows, milk, butter, corn, and potatoes—every substantial requisite; surrounded by a rising family, for whose future support he sees ample means in the extension of the cultivation of the land that surrounds his dwelling. How sincerely the old improvident fisherman may exclaim—

“ Oh, that for me some home like this would smile,
Some hamlet shed to yield my sickly form
Health in the breeze, and shelter from the storm.”

The successful cultivators are not confined to the fishermen and planters; the most laborious settlers, those who deserve most credit, having had in the onset the greatest difficulties to contend with, are those persons who have extended their clearances some miles into the interior. Many of these have made most valuable improvements. As the roads progress, new settlers move on in like progression. These parties have been unaided except by the advantages they derived from the opening of the roads, many of them having been employed either as contractors or workmen upon them. The money received from their labour enabling them to buy a horse, cart, plough, and other agricultural implements, and stock for their farms. I would confidently refer to the example of Newfoundland colonization, limited as it is, to prove the soundness of the views of Lord John Russell.]

The best system is that which leaves the settler to act for himself, if he has capital, to choose his own location, to give an opportunity to those who have not capital to acquire it by their labour in making roads and other useful productive public works. The experience and knowledge of the country gained by such employment will be found of more value than the capital itself. The plan of placing settlers down upon land, supplying them with seeds and implements of husbandry, supporting them until they could raise sufficient from the soil for their own support, may be found practicable, provided an immense outlay is submitted to, similar to that expended in Nova Scotia and other places. Even then many failures will be found. It is questionable whether, even with such outlay, colonization would progress so securely as by the other mode. The example of Shelburne in Nova Scotia, where an attempt was made without due consideration, prematurely to form an extensive settlement, will show the difficulties and danger of attempting colonization on a large scale, even though it may be supported by the largest outlay. At the conclusion of the American war, a number of loyalists were

encouraged to settle themselves at Shelburne. In 1783, a fleet consisting of eighteen square rigged vessels, and several sloops and schooners, protected by two ships of war, "sailed from New York," they were attended by a commissary, engineer, a number of carpenters, who were supplied with all kinds of tools and implements necessary for the formation of a settlement on a large scale. On their arrival, after carefully examining the adjacent country, and sounding the harbour, they made choice of the head of it as the most eligible situation. The vacancy between the base line and the water was made out in lanes and small allotments, so that every person might be accommodated with a town and water lot. "Thus rose the town of Shelburne," states the learned and able historian of Nova Scotia, from whom I have made these extracts, "the population of which amounted to twelve or fourteen thousand inhabitants. Its decline was almost as rapid as its growth; remote from the other settlements of the Province, surrounded by the forests, without roads, situated too far from the entrance of the harbour to reap the advantages of the fishing grounds, and filled with people who were unacquainted with the mode of settling in the wilderness, it was impossible that such a town, so constituted, could long exist. Many of the inhabitants removed to the other parts of the Province, but the greater part returned to their native land. The lamentations of the people, who attributed their misfortunes rather to the poverty of the soil and the nature of the country, than to their own imprudence, in assembling together in a wilderness, without the means of support, have had a powerful effect in raising a prejudice against Nova Scotia, and the character of the Province is therefore as much misunderstood in the United States, as it is in England. Shelburne is at present in a most dilapidated state, and the very circumstance of its having been once abandoned, has continued to keep it so."—*Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia*, vol. 2, p. 196.

There is nothing appears easier in theory, but which will be found more difficult in practice, than the formation suddenly of a settlement or town, in a new country; even in those blessed in superior advantages of soil and climate, to the British North American Colonies. Communities must grow up to maturity, they cannot be created. To think of setting down two millions, or one million, or even one hundred thousand, in any new country, in one or two years, and securing to them the means of maintenance, and the requisites of civilized life, is a project which I do not think it possible to accomplish. The present emigration to Canada and the United States, is no proof to the contrary. There, such as escape the perils of fever and sickness on the voyage, are drafted by railroads and steamboats from the harbours of disembarkation, and are absorbed in those vast countries in the back settlements of America, which are so rapidly extending themselves towards the Pacific, and to whose rise the present system of emigration from Great Britain affords such advantages. Mr. Burke said, in 1775, in reference to these British Provinces, "Your children grow faster from infancy to manhood, than they spread from families to communities, from villages to nations." What would he say at the present day, when England is spiriting away annually two hundred thousand of her people, for whom ample employment ought to have been found at home, to form new communities, new villages, and new nations, in that ambitious and overgrown Republic, insatiable in her desire for territory, dominion, and power. The emigration to the Canadas and the United States, affords no proof in favour of a gigantic system of colonization. If the stream of emigration were forced into the unsettled parts of Canada, it would most assuredly force itself back, and diverge towards the settled districts.

I have to crave your Lordship's indulgence for branching off from my main subject—the settlement and colonization

of Newfoundland, into the more general question of colonization and emigration. While this question is now engaging the attention of the Imperial Legislature, and of the first, most able, and I may add, the most benevolent men in the Empire, Newfoundland appears to be passed over in all their schemes. My opinion, and which I state without the slightest hesitation, is, that Government, and others anxious for British colonization, have committed a great error in passing this Colony by. I have already stated that Newfoundland affords by her insular situation, the very best security for a permanent British Colony. I could adduce many arguments in support of the position. No man of reflection will be found to say that under any possible circumstances, it can be the interest of England to separate from Newfoundland. Many of your ablest statesmen and purest patriots, from Lord CAMDEN to Lord ASHBURTON and Mr. GLADSTONE, have expressed very different opinions in respect to the other Colonies, situated on the continent of North America, and only divided from the United States by an imaginary line.

"I think," said Lord ASHBURTON, "it is evident the time must come, when self-government will be necessary, and when separation from the mother country must take place."

Lord BROUGHAM—"Hear, hear."

Lord ASHBURTON—"The first difficulty is to ascertain the proper time for that separation, and the next to effect it on friendly terms, so as to 'shake hands at parting.'—These opinions I expressed on the subject of colonization generally, ten years ago, and I think the greatest possible mistake was, not earlier to have given to these Canadian Colonies to understand, that the moment the feeling of their population was ripe for separation they should have it."—*Lord Ashburton's Speech, Canada Government, June 30, 1840.*

Mr. GLADSTONE said, "It appears to me that the maintenance of our commerce with the Colonies is to be regarded rather as a matter of duty than one of advantage.—It will also be a great problem of statesmanship at a future period, when those growing societies will have attained to such a degree of maturity as to be truly fit for self-government, to fix upon the period when the connexion with the parent shall be severed."—*Mr. Gladstone's Speech, Canada Government, May 29, 1840.*

Admitting the truth of the opinions expressed by Lord ASHBURTON and Mr. GLADSTONE, and approved of by Lord BROUGHAM, (who had, I believe, expressed similar opinions and in much stronger terms on previous occasions,) in reference to the American continental Colonies of England, would these eminent men take it upon themselves to point out any state of things, any contingency, when it would be the advantage of England to separate from Newfoundland, and surrender the Colony and the fisheries to America? I do not think that any British statesman would have the temerity to say, that under any possible circumstances, England could consent to separate from Newfoundland, and surrender all her fisheries. Should that period arise, it will be a sign of the decline of her maritime supremacy, and of the transfer of it to that ambitious American Republic ready to grasp at it, than which no greater misfortune could befall the civilized world, effecting the union in one state, of vast territorial and great maritime power. Newfoundland and her fisheries will be preserved by England, to make them more valuable it will be necessary for British statesmen to turn more of their attention to her vast importance and value,—to put them to proper account, and not allow the tide of emigration, capital, and trade, to pass her shores to strengthen and aggrandise a country—jealous rivals in peace—dangerous enemies in war.

In Newfoundland are to be found all the material of great maritime power; her boundless Fishing Banks, magnificent Bays, her innumerable Harbours, her favourable position, situate between the old and the new world, points her out as the emporium for the commerce of both—her staple produce, finding a market in all parts of the world—her extensive territory capable of maintaining many millions of inhabitants; it is not too much to say that under the mighty shade of England's protection, Newfoundland could be raised into a maritime power that would be found a powerful auxiliary to England in any future maritime war. If England would extend to Newfoundland the same aid that she has extended to Nova Scotia, or agree to spend a tithe of what has been expended in Canada, Newfoundland would soon be raised into a truly British Colony of wealth and population. Even without such aid, if simply her natural rights were restored to her, by the expulsion of the French and Americans from her shores, that alone would suffice to accomplish all that could be required, she would soon leave all the other Colonies, in trade, commerce, wealth, and population, at an immeasurable distance behind.

I do not expect that opinions coming from so insignificant a source will influence the parent Government or other parties, to enter into any extensive plan of colonization in Newfoundland. At the same time, for the causes which I have stated, most particularly the transfer of her fisheries to Foreigners, and the loss that is suffered by having to contend against their bounties, there is no other Colony that can establish so strong a claim, on just principles, to consideration, and afford a better security for the outlay of British capital. I have perused with much interest the discussion on Lord LINCOLN's motion on the subject of colonization, on the 1st June last, in the House of Commons, in which that noble lord so ably adverted to the various projects proposed for carrying it out. Every true-hearted Irishman must

feel the deepest sense of gratitude towards Lord LINCOLN, Sir Robert PEEL, and the other English and Scotch members, for the sympathy manifested for their suffering countrymen. I was anxious to see how any of the plans, or which of them, could be made available for the settlement of Newfoundland. Mr. E. G. WAKEFIELD's proposition of making the funds raised from the sale of waste lands, available for this purpose, exacting a high price, and appropriating the proceeds for the importation of labour, will not be suitable to Newfoundland; for the reason given by Lord LINCOLN, the limited amount that could be raised, by an immediate sale of land, would be found inadequate; the securing steady remunerative employment for the emigrant, on his arrival, should be the first and main object to secure a successful result in any general plan of colonization.

Mr. CHARLES BULLER's plan, for the resumption of the millions of acres that have been jobbed away in Canada, and which, like Cerberian Bogs, impeded the settlement of the country; the imposition of a Wild Land Tax, would no doubt greatly benefit Canada, and would facilitate the colonization and settlement of that country, except it may be advisable to put a small tax upon wild land, to prevent private speculation. The proposition of Mr. BULLER is not applicable or necessary for Newfoundland. Mr. GODLEY's gigantic scheme of transporting two millions in two or three years, and forming an Irish nation in Canada, is based upon a vast outlay; it exhibits great consideration, much benevolence, and an anxious desire to promote the welfare and happiness of the exiles. His plan, profound and benevolent as it is, is theoretic, not practicable. Mr. GODLEY "thinks it unadvisable to scatter Irish emigrants over numerous distant colonies; it seems most expedient to choose some one country to which the main stream of emigration should be directed, and in which, accordingly, a peaceful Irish nationality would at once take root."

Canada is the country selected for the experiment of Mr. GODLEY's two millions of Irish emigrants. Not one fiftieth part of them would remain in the position in which he would place them, except he could surround his new Irish nation with Bishop BERKLEY's wall of brass, five thousand cubits high. The steamboats, canals, and railways, would afford them means of transit, and in less than three years five-sixths of "New Ireland" would be scattered amongst the interminable prairies of the *far west*, giving their industry, their capital, not to raise British, or Irish nationality, but to swell with greater rapidity, into more huge bulk, American nationality.

Mr. GODLEY proposes nine millions as the sum necessary to be raised to carry out his plan, a large amount, but totally inadequate. The colonization of Nova Scotia, in 1749, for little more than three thousand persons, cost in a few years, seven hundred thousand pounds. What, therefore, would two millions of settlers cost? If the plan were practicable, the outlay of one hundred millions would not be adequate, taking into account the capital that the emigrants would bring out of their own, which would be in most instances not less than twenty pounds, and others some hundreds. To place no value on the science, labour, and industry, of the two millions of men, which I estimate at a far higher ratio, instead of abstracting one hundred millions of capital to be expended in raising a New Ireland in Canada, let the landlords employ the two millions of men and expend the hundred millions in improving "Old Ireland," it will be found far a more judicious plan for raising the condition of the Irish people, and improving the value of their own estates, than any project of emigration or colonization, however extensive, or however matured.

Emigration may benefit the emigrant, it is a miserable resource for benefiting Ireland. No matter what may be said or written to the contrary, I never can believe that while there is so much land in Ireland, remaining unimpro-

ved and unproductive, for want of cultivation, and so much labour wasting for want of employment, but that instead of transporting two millions, or any number, to cultivate the wilds of Canada, or the back settlements in America, they should be employed in improving the half-cultivated land, in Ireland. The Irish landlords have the command of the cheapest labour in the world. Placed as they are now, by the repeal of the Corn Laws, in competition with the landlords of the world, they should avail themselves of the advantage, instead of getting rid of their people, and spending their money in France or Italy, in the gambling houses of London or Paris, let them spend it in improving their estates, and giving employment to the people. The value of the one will be immeasurably increased—the condition of the other will be immeasurably improved. Employing the people at home, instead of transporting them across the Atlantic, will be found the most effectual way to meet the present difficulties, and to guard against the recurrence of them in future. The present scale of emigration, amounting to nearly two hundred thousand annually, principally from Ireland, is in itself very great, exceeding anything to be found in the history of ancient or modern transatlantic emigration. Instead of relieving the labour market, it in my opinion abstracts much valuable labour and capital which ought to be employed at home.—There are very few emigrants who do not bring with them sums of from twenty to fifty pounds, and some of them much larger amounts.

With reference to the subject of the present system of emigration to the North American Colonies, I would most respectfully draw your Lordship's attention to the scanty manner in which the emigrants are maintained on the voyage under the present Passenger Law; the ship is bound only to find one pound of bread, and a certain quantity of water per diem, for each passenger, who has to provide himself with all other necessities for the voy-

age. The defect of the system is caused by the change that has been made in the law which obliged the master to provide the passenger with the usual ship's allowance of seven pounds of bread, seven pounds of beef or five pounds of pork per week, with flour, oatmeal, molasses, and a sufficiency of wholesome water, cook and cooking utensils. This was the fare under the old system, and I can state that from an experience of twenty years, in general the emigrant landed stronger and in better health than when he embarked. Under the present law, the only food supplied by the ship is bread and water, and the passenger must provide himself with other necessaries. It must be taken into account, that in general the poor emigrant is unacquainted with every thing connected with a sea voyage. Possibly never having seen a ship or salt water, before his arrival at the port of embarkation; he is directed to provide certain necessaries, which he purchases at the retail prices. These he has to stow away in his chest, or to give them in charge to an officer of the ship or other person to take care of them. For the first few days of the voyage he is laid up with sea-sickness, utterly incapable of providing any nourishment for himself. If the emigrant is a female, her state is even more helpless; the little tea, coffee, sugar, and other necessaries provided for the voyage are soon wasted or expended; and before one half the voyage is passed, the emigrants are reduced to live upon one pound of bread, and often a scanty supply of unwholesome water. The natural consequences are, that before the conclusion of the voyage, they are reduced to mere skeletons, fever is engendered of the nature of gaol fever, of a most virulent character. Hundreds, I may say thousands, of these poor people, leave their homes in good health, to find untimely graves in the deep or in a foreign land. The sufferings of the poor emigrants to Quebec and other ports on the continent, as well as to this port, are beyond any description I can give. The people embarked in good health, most of them with means

adequate to their wants. Even in this port, this last spring, where emigrants did not exceed seven or eight hundred, it has come to my knowledge, that poor creatures who died shortly after their landing, of fever, the effects of starvation on the voyage, had thirty, forty, and fifty sovereigns in their pockets.

The present evil, of "shovelling away" the poor people from Ireland in ships, without proper provision being made for their voyage, calls loudly for redress. It claims your Lordship's humane attention. The former mode, of obliging the ship to find all necessaries, ought to be resumed. In addition to the humane views which call for its adoption, it will be found the most economical. The sum that is now expended by the emigrant to provide necessaries, added to the rate of passage, would enable the ship owner to provide the regular ship's allowance. Under a different treatment the emigrant will land stronger and in better health than he embarked; instead of being conveyed to a fever hospital he will be employed to turn his labour to profitable account as soon as he lands.*

* The number of emigrants landed in the harbour of St. John's this year, did not much exceed seven or eight hundred, and there was scarcely any mortality on the voyage. The vessels on their arrival were visited and examined by the medical officers of the town, all of them, with scarcely an exception, reported free from disease,—the passengers healthy, who were allowed to land. Though reported free from disease by the health officers, they appeared, particularly the passengers of one vessel, in the most emaciated state; brawny, stout men, looked like walking skeletons. No wonder, they had to exist for five or six weeks on little bread and bad water. The effects of this treatment soon appeared; the sudden change of diet—from a scanty allowance of bread and bad water, to nourishing food—brought on fever of a most dangerous character; persons who admitted them into their houses took the infection—the whole town was threatened with great danger, when His Excellency the Governor, Sir J. GASPARD LE MARCHANT, with great promptitude and humanity, directed an auxiliary hospital to be prepared, the old hospital not having sufficient room, the patients were re-

As I have been commenting on Mr. GODLEY's plan of emigration, it is proper for me to say, in justice to that gentleman, that he proposes to take ample care of the people on the voyage, and that he cautiously avoids the evils of the present system of North American emigration, than which nothing can be more objectionable.

Having digressed, I hope not to an unpardonable extent, on the general subject of emigration, and with reference to the unhappy state of Ireland, I return to my more immediate object, the application of the different plans of settlement and colonization to Newfoundland, adverted to in Lord LINCOLN's able speech. Under some modifications, Mr. SULLIVAN's plan, "founded on original Government outlay, to be repaid by the sale of plots of ground reserved in, and intermixed with, the locations of the Colonists, by which means he apprehends such a value will be given to the reserved lots as eventually to pay the expense of colonization," would be found most available. Making these reserves would be extending the base of the settlement, and the experience of every man in the Colonies must convince him how much land is increased in value by clearances and settlement running through it.

In connexion with Mr. SULLIVAN's plan, or rather to form a principle in its extension to Newfoundland, would, by your Lordship's plan of establishing villages, which was also adverted to by Lord LINCOLN, but which I have not had the good fortune to have met with, except in the reference made to it by Lord LINCOLN. The establish-

—moved to this hospital. At one time there was nearly one hundred and fifty persons down with fever, chiefly the newly arrived emigrants—nearly a fifth of the whole number. Owing to the great precautions that were taken, and the care taken of the patients, the deaths were not numerous. I have no hesitation in stating, that if the passengers had been properly treated on the voyage, and had given to them the proper usual allowance of provisions and good water, the passengers would continue in health after landing. To the starvation on the voyage, I charge the whole of the lamentable effects that followed.

ment of villages, or small settlements, has been a desideratum with the friends of improvement in Newfoundland, the great objection to your Lordship's proposition, of building villages and supporting the settlers for a certain time, is the expense. Without incurring the great expense necessary for the building of the villages, and maintaining the settlers, I do think, that in connexion with Mr. SULLIVAN's plan, the formation of small settlements or villages is most practicable, and very necessary in the forwarding of colonization and settlement in Newfoundland. In the location decided upon for the formation of a village, a quantity of ground should be divided into alternate lots, one sett of which to be given gratuitously to the first settlers, the remainder for sale in due time. Chapels, Churches, and School-houses, to be erected in convenient situations, and employment to be secured for the settlers, in opening and making roads and bridges, and other public works. These villages to branch off on the main roads leading from the capital, to which, for a market for the produce, the most easy access should at all times be kept open. As a general principle, which should never be lost sight of in any plan of extending colonization in countries like Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, where communities are formed, settlements should branch off from the populous districts. The example of Shelburne, in Nova Scotia, should be a warning against the formation of communities in remote districts, without lines of communication being first made to the populous and settled parts of the country. It was by the extension of the village system that Massachusetts was colonized, possibly the most successful example of colonization that can be pointed out in any age or country. In reference to Massachusetts it was said—

“The clearance of the land is not directed by chance as in the other Provinces. This matter from the first was subject to laws which are still religiously observed. No citizen whatever has the liberty of settling upon unoccupi-

ed land. The Government, desirous of preserving all its members from the inroads of the savages, and of placing them in a condition to share in the protection of a well regulated society, hath ordered that whole villages should be formed at once, as soon as sixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a school-master, the General Assembly allot them a situation, and permit them to have two representatives in the Legislative body of the Colony. The district assigned them always borders upon the land already cleared, and generally contains six thousand square acres. These new people chose the situation most convenient for their habitations, which is usually of a square figure, the church is placed in the centre, the Colonists divide the land amongst them, and each incloses his property with a hedge. Some woods were reserved for a common. It is thus that New England is constantly enlarging its territory, though it still continues to make one complete and well constituted Province."—*Abbe Raynal, vol. 4, page 240.*

There is no way in which a safe and judicious system of colonization could be more securely forwarded, than by the establishment of villages in convenient positions on the main lines of road that branch off from St. John's, the capital, combining the plan of Mr. SULLIVAN with the village system, would, I think, be most suitable to Newfoundland, and I trust will not be lost sight of, when the subject, as no doubt it will, comes under the consideration of the Government and Local Legislature.

There is a subject closely connected with the question of colonization, which I shall venture to bring under the consideration of your Lordship; it is the question of Steam Navigation across the Atlantic. The parent Government have, at a great cost, established a line of steamers to ply between England and the North American continent in the summer months, every fortnight, which is soon to be changed to a weekly communication. These

ships pass within sight of Newfoundland, often within sight of one of the finest and safest harbours in the world, that of St. John's, but avoid it as if it was a coral reef. According to the present arrangement, letters and passengers for Newfoundland in the Post Office packets, have to pass their port of destination, proceed upwards of six hundred miles to Halifax, retrace their steps, pass on a further six hundred miles, subject to new sea risks in passing the Island of Sable, and a more dangerous coast than treble the distance on open sea of the Atlantic. Is it, I would most humbly submit to your Lordship, a wise, politic, or just arrangement, to deprive Newfoundland of the advantages of a direct communication with the parent country? It may be said that the great trade and great intercourse with America demand the preference, and that Newfoundland is not of sufficient importance to delay even for a few hours the transmission of the mails and passengers to the continent of America, or I may say the United States, for it appears for their particular advantage that the steamers have been put on the Atlantic line. It is the opinion of eminent judges, that reducing the distance, or rather dividing it, by calling at intermediate ports, adds to the security and does not impede the speed of steam navigation.—The shortest, if not the most direct line from Liverpool, Cork, or Valentia, to New York, runs along the coast of Newfoundland; the steamers, both on their outward and homeward voyages, skim along the coast. In October, 1845, the *Hibernia*, in her voyage from Halifax to Liverpool, struck upon Cape Race. The fine bold shore enabled her to get off without damage. She had to put into St. John's, when in a few days she was enabled to refit and proceed upon her voyage.

His Excellency, Sir JOHN HARVEY, on his appointment to the Government of Newfoundland, had to proceed to England in one of the steamers, and passed in sight of Newfoundland. On his voyage out, he passed in sight of

St. John's, the capital of his Government, and after being conveyed six hundred miles beyond it, had to embark on board a ship of war at Halifax to convey him to the seat of his Government.*

* In 1833, when it was contemplated to establish direct steam communication between England and America, Admiral Prescott strongly recommended the Harbour of St. John's as a convenient port to touch at in the passages out and home. He forwarded a memorial from the Chamber of Commerce of St. John's on the same subject, to show the facility with which the passage to Newfoundland was made, even by sailing vessels, in the depth of winter. His Excellency Governor Prescott, in a despatch under date of the 2d February, 1839, said—"With reference to my despatches of the 12th and 19th January, I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that a merchant brig arrived here from Cork, on the 30th ult., after a passage of only 13 days, and had no difficulty in entering this port and sailing up to the owners' wharf."

Admiral Prescott's recommendation of St. John's as a port of call, was submitted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, who did not deem it expedient to attend to his recommendation.

His Excellency, Sir John Harvey, in his speech to the Legislature at the opening of the Session in 1846, points out the advantages of making Newfoundland an intermediate port of call, and fully confirms the opinion given under the sanction of the high professional character of Admiral Prescott.

"The impressions which have been produced on the minds of several distinguished individuals by whom this Island has been visited during the last summer, as to the decided superiority which this port of St. John's possesses over every other as an intermediate point in Steam Navigation between England and America, whether the terminus be the British Colonies or the United States.

"1st—From its geographical position.

"2d—From the depth of water and perfect security of its noble harbour, accessible at all seasons, and at all hours of the day or night, owing to the absence of tides or bar.

"3d—From the safety of the navigation along the whole of the southern coast of Newfoundland, from Cape Spear, on which a

On the great Holyhead line, the coach stops to deliver the mails at the smallest villages or post towns; on the rail-roads, rapid as their course is, the same system is adopted. The consideration that is given to a village is denied to Newfoundland. Her Majesty's Mail passes her shores, and she is not considered of sufficient importance to stop for a few hours to deliver them. The trade to Newfoundland is not so large, the demand for British manufactures is not so great as that to the American continent, yet it is not insignificant; there is between three hundred and fifty thousand and half a million's worth of British manufactures annually consumed, and the amount rapidly increases. There is nearly a million of exports, the returns chiefly centre in England. Some two thousand British ships, manned with many thousands of British seamen are employed. To say nothing of the growing importance of the country itself, surely such a Colony claims a due share of consideration. It has never yet received it; the effect of

splendid light has long existed, to Cape Race, which (or its neighbourhood) it is hoped will ere long exhibit one of equal power.

"4th—From the numerous harbours of refuge which present themselves along that coast.

"These are among the circumstances which have attracted the attention of the intelligent individuals to whom I have referred, and I now allude to the subject in order to point to it the attention of the mercantile interests of this Colony, at a moment when such great efforts are being made to extend railroad communications to the western extremity of Ireland, with the object of shortening and facilitating steam communication between Great Britain and her transatlantic possessions."

The General Assembly petitioned Her Majesty and both Houses of Parliament on the same subject. It is to be hoped that the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury will reconsider this important question, and facilitate an object which will have the effect of binding Newfoundland to England, instead of making her an appendage of the New-Englanders, who have already quite enough of benefit from Newfoundland.

the present system of transatlantic steam communication with America, is to treat Newfoundland as an insignificant appendage of the continent. It is what the Americans themselves wish for. The fisheries were conceded by the duped and blundering OSWALD;* is it the intention

*It may be proper to give the grounds on which I have expressed myself so severely of Richard Oswald, Esq., Minister Plenipotentiary on the part of England, who negotiated the Preliminary Treaty of Peace with America, in 1782, and so readily ceded Newfoundland and her Fisheries. He was the especial appointment and favourite of Lord Shelburne; in a letter from his Lordship to Mr. Franklin, he says: "Your letter discovering the same disposition has made me send you Mr. Oswald. I have had a longer acquaintance with him, than ever I have had the pleasure to have with you. I believe him to be an honest man, and, after consulting some of our common friends, I have thought him the fittest for the purpose. He is a practical man, and conversant in those negotiations which are most interesting to mankind. This has made me prefer him to any of our speculative friends, or to any person of high rank."—*Lord Shelburne's Letter to B. Franklin, Esq., April 6, 1782.*

It was that kind hearted, good natured man, that had to contend with the four American Commissioners, Benjamin Franklin at their head. Well might Lord Stormont exclaim, that "he was not a match for any one of them." The cession of Newfoundland and her Fisheries to the Americans, appears a most unaccountable event. It can scarcely be imagined how such a proposition could be at all entertained by Mr. Oswald, or sanctioned by the ministry in England. What could the Americans reasonably ask but the independence of their own country; not satisfied with that, they must get Newfoundland and her Fisheries. "I am at a loss to consider how we could grant, or they could claim it as a right, when they assumed an independency which separated them from our sovereignty."—*Lord North's Speech in Parliament, Treaty of Peace, 1783.*

The claim of the American Commissioners to Newfoundland was based on no just or reasonable principles whatever. It forcibly reminds one of the witty observation of Lord Chesterfield, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the Provost of Trinity College, "that if he gave him all Ireland for an estate, he would ask the Isle of Man for a cabbage garden." The French had to strengthen their claim to the usual participation in the New found-

to fling the remaining part of the fisheries, and the Island itself into the bargain? It is not, it never can be the policy of England. Newfoundland, in the case of steam navigation, as in every other, has been treated with neglect. How long is this system to continue? land Fisheries occupancy for centuries, sanctioned by various Treaties.

The New Englanders, when British subjects, had no right to the Fishery; the British Fishery of Newfoundland was confined to the adventurers direct from Great Britain, or the resident inhabitants, who were merely tolerated. The American Commissioners had no grounds whatever to demand a participation of the Newfoundland Fisheries. No previous occupation to plead, they might have asked with equal right a portion of Scotland or Ireland; they had not the slightest shadow of justice to support their claim. What makes Mr. Oswald's conduct appear the more extraordinary is, that there was no necessity—he was not called upon to make the concession to the Americans—he was aware that the French had a common interest with the British to exclude the Americans from the Fisheries during Peace in the joint occupancy of the two nations. So great an extent of Fishery as the Americans asked for, could not be well granted without interfering with the usual privileges that were previously granted to the French, and which they would require to be again granted by the contemplated treaty. Mr. Oswald was fully aware that these were the views entertained by the French Government on the subject of the Fisheries; even if he had not himself sufficient penetration*to see that France had a common interest with England on this matter, his eyes ought to have been opened by the contents of an intercepted despatch from Monsieur De Marbois, Secretary to the French embassy in America, and addressed from Philadelphia to the French Minister, Count de Vergennes, in which he informs his Government of the immeasurable pretensions of the Americans to a participation of the Newfoundland Fisheries. M. De Marbois says, "The public prints hold forth the importance of the Fisheries; the reigning toast in the East is, 'May the United States ever maintain their right to the Fisheries.' It has often been repeated in the deliberation of the General Court—no Peace without Fisheries." After expressing his opinion of the difficulty of reasoning with the Americans on the subject, he goes on to express his surprise "that the Newfoundland Fisheries have been included in the additional instructions, that the United States set

nue? Is it to last for ever? My warning voice will not be heard, but I most emphatically say to your Lordship, that the policy is not alone injurious to Newfoundland, it saps the foundation of England's maritime power. It gives strength to that of America. As certain as I am

forth therein pretensions, without paying any regard to the King's rights, and without considering the impossibility they are under of making conquests, and keeping what belongs to Great Britain."

"His Majesty might at the same time cause a promise to be given to Congress of his assistance for procuring admission to the other Fisheries, declaring, however, that he would not be answerable for the success, and that he is bound to nothing, as the treaty makes no mention of that article. This declaration being made before the Peace, the hopes of the people could not be supported, nor could it one day be said that we left them in the dark on this point. It were even to be wished that this declaration should be made whilst New York, Charleston, and Penobscot, are in the enemies hands. Our allies will be less tractable than ever upon these points, whenever they recover these important ports.

"But it is best to be prepared for any discontent, although it should be but temporary. It has been remarked by some that as England has other Fisheries besides Newfoundland, she may perhaps endeavour that the Americans should partake in that of Great Britain, in order to conciliate their affection, or procure some compensation, or create a subject of jealousy between them and us; but it does not seem likely that she will act so contrary to their true interests, and were she to do so, it will be far the better to have declared it at an early period to the Americans that their pretensions are not founded, and that his Majesty does not mean to support it."—*Extract from intercepted despatch to the French Government, dated from Philadelphia, March 12, 1782.*

Mr. Oswald, instead of using the information, one would suppose in the only way it ought to be used, to strengthen him in his resolve to resist the unwarrantable claim of the Americans to the Fisheries, places the intercepted despatch into the hands of Franklin; who, seeing that his grand aim, the Fisheries of Newfoundland, was in danger of being defeated, agreed to sign a separate Treaty with England, in violation of a solemn agreement made with the French Government, that no Treaty but a just Treaty, including France and other powers then at war with England, would be entered into by any one separate Power. To prevent the interference of

inditing this humble communication to your Lordship, Newfoundland is destined on some future day, to act a higher part in the great affairs of nations, than her present despised, neglected state, would warrant the belief. Let Newfoundland be no longer neglected and despised. There are,

France on the subject of Newfoundland, Franklin, however, on the signing of a separate Treaty, completely cajoled Mr. Oswald out of the Fisheries. It was not without just reason he triumphantly exclaimed, "Our independence is acknowledged, our boundaries as good and as extensive as we demanded, and our Fisheries more than the Congress expected."

It is evident that Mr. Oswald was utterly incompetent for the performance of the duties he had to perform, or that he placed no value whatever on the concession of Newfoundland and the Fisheries; possibly both charges may safely be made, the one following as the natural consequence of the other. No better proof could be adduced of the utter incompetency of any British Minister, than his surrendering or granting to any foreign state any right or privilege which might operate injuriously to England's maritime power. Mr. Oswald unnecessarily sacrificed the interests of England by the cession of the Newfoundland Fisheries to the young ambitious Republic then rising into existence. No man then living understood their value better than Franklin.

Mr. Oswald's incapacity is clearly demonstrated in the American Treaty, as it was said, reciprocal advantages meant only the advantage of America. If credence is to be given to Franklin's account of Mr. Oswald, his simplicity must have been very great, his ignorance of the first principles of political economy even greater. To prove to Franklin the great means that England possessed for carrying on the war, he said there was no want of money in the nation, that the chief difficulty was in finding out new taxes to raise it, and perhaps that difficulty might be avoided by shutting up the exchequer, stopping the payment of the interest of the public funds, and applying that money for the support of the war. "I made no reply to this for I do not desire to discourage their stopping payment, which I considered as cutting the throat of their public credit."

On another occasion he again says to Franklin, "went on with the greatest frankness to tell me that peace was absolutely necessary for them, that the nation had been foolishly engaged in four wars, and could no longer raise money to carry them on, so that if they continued it would be absolutely necessary to stop the pay-

my Lord, to use the warning voice of the illustrious BURKE, "critical moments in the fortunes of all states, when they who are too weak to contribute to your prosperity, may be strong enough to complete your ruin."

I would wish to avoid incurring your Lordship's displeasure, by any observations of mine, on the policy adopted by the parent Government towards Newfoundland; but I am so deeply impressed with its injurious consequences, in an Imperial and Colonial point of view, that I am prepared to run the risk of your Lordship's "striking," if you only at the same time "hear" me on the subject of Newfoundland.

I have spoken with the more freedom on the course of proceedings on the part of the parent Government with reference to Newfoundland, impressed with the strongest opinions that the policy can be arraigned more on Imperial than Colonial grounds. In a former letter I have admitted of the interest on the funds."—*Franklin's Correspondence*, vol. 4.

Here is a good specimen of the profound political knowledge and sagacity of England's Plenipotentiary. Mr. Oswald had been, it appears, a merchant largely engaged in the American trade; what is called a practical man; he ought to have known that the credit of a great trading maritime nation like England should be preserved inviolate. It was the preservation of that credit that could alone enable England to contend against the formidable league that was united for her destruction. History would have told him that the very existence of a maritime trading nation depends on the preservation of her public credit. In the sixteenth century, when the league of Cambray was formed for the destruction of the great maritime nation of that time, the Venetians raised money to enable them to carry on the war when all the powers of Europe, combined against them, at five per cent, while one of her most powerful opponents, the King of France, had to pay fifteen per cent.

To a man so profoundly ignorant was entrusted such important negotiations. It is not to be wondered at that he should be duped and over-reached by the profound Franklin, and that Newfoundland and her fisheries, and the best interests of England, should have been made the sacrifice.

known to your Lordship the continued succession of vast benefits conferred on Newfoundland by the parent Government, for the last twenty-five years. The Judicature Act and Charter of Justice of 1824, throwing round the people the panoply of British Laws. In 1832, the concession of the invaluable privilege of managing their own affairs in their own way, thereby securing to them in the fullest extent all the rights, privileges, and immunities of British subjects.

Her Majesty, with more than Royal bounty, relinquishing her territorial rights, and conferring on her loyal subjects the whole of the land, to be managed in the most beneficial way for their interest.

It is not, therefore, so much on local grounds as on principles of Imperial policy that I complain of the course adopted towards Newfoundland, in the vast expenditure of public money in the promotion of steam communication with the continent of America, and the other items of expenditure in the promotion of their settlement and colonization.

I must again repeat the opinion, that though other Colonies in North America may be of greater extent and more populous, their importance and advancement must be viewed more in reference to their own rising greatness, than to any advantages or any future assistance that ultimately may be gained from them by England. The consummation of their wealth, population, and power, according to the eminent opinions I have already quoted, and they only *echoed* authorities not less inferior, is to lead to their separation from the parent that fostered them under her wing and expended upon them more than a proportion of her exuberant wealth, and when the canals and railroads are completed, to form independent states themselves, or be fused into the overgrown Federal Republic in their neighbourhood.

I arraign the wisdom of the Imperial policy in passing Newfoundland in her vast Colonial expenditure, chiefly

on the grounds that Newfoundland and her fisheries are of much greater value to England than any part of the continent, that it is not the encroachment on that side that is to be guarded against. It is not the Oregon, Texas, Mexico, not the territorial boundary settled by Lord Ashburton's Treaty, that is of importance to England, it is the maritime boundary, the Banks and Shores of Newfoundland; that is the real boundary line for the deep consideration of the British statesmen. These have been infringed upon, the best part of them almost exclusively occupied by rival powers, ambitious above all things of Naval Strength, if not of Naval Supremacy.—England looks on with apathy and indifference, Newfoundland is neglected; while millions are expended on the continental Colonies, one shilling is not expended on Newfoundland. The British fisheries of Newfoundland are left to contend against an unequal foreign rivalry on her own shores.

This policy I complain of more on Imperial than on Colonial grounds.

Though I fear I have trespassed on your Lordship's patience, by introducing into this communication much matter of which your Lordship is much better acquainted than myself, I have not exhausted the arguments that could be adduced, to prove the policy and advantage, both in a National and Colonial point of view, of raising in Newfoundland a large British community, and encouraging its colonization to the greatest possible extent.

In conclusion, I shall again advert to the simple proposition which I have made for the promotion of that object, the raising by loan, on the credit of the Colony, repayment to be guaranteed by the Imperial Government, of forty thousand pounds each year, for ten consecutive years, to be expended chiefly in the opening of main roads, and erecting bridges, opening out the interior for settlement and colonization; the money to be expended under a responsible governmental commission; every possible precaution to

be taken to prevent any abstraction. The loan to be paid off in yearly instalments, of six and a half or seven per cent., to include principal and interest, which would be accomplished in about twenty years ; the process of repayment to commence immediately after the advance of the first year's loan. The repayment of the loan to be made a first charge on the Colonial revenue and the land fund, a security equal to any that could be offered by any other of Her Majesty's Colonies. In less than twenty years the judicious expenditure of the proposed four hundred thousand pounds in making roads and throwing open the land of the country for settlement and cultivation, would increase the capital of the country many millions. A corresponding advance may justly be calculated upon in the trade and annual revenue, in the increase of population, and the consumption of manufactured goods, and other dutiable articles. It is not too much to say, that in twenty years the present revenue could be greatly augmented. My views on this point in reference to the increase of the revenue by the cultivation of the land are expressed in the words of Adam Smith :

“ When the Crown Lands had become private property they would, in the course of a few years, become well improved and well cultivated. The increase of the produce would increase the population of the country, by augmentation of the revenue and consumption of the people ; but the revenue which the Crown derives from the duties of Customs and Excise, would necessarily increase with the revenue and consumption of the people.”

I do most humbly and respectfully submit to your Lordship, that the favour of a loan from the parent government to the amount stated, is not unreasonable. When it is taken into consideration how, for the general benefit of the Empire, the particular interests of Newfoundland have been sacrificed. On this ground alone an equitable claim for compensation could be clearly established to a much larger amount.

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A sum of from sixty to one hundred thousand pounds is annually expended by the French Government in the form of bounties to their Newfoundland Fisheries, not to speak of the expense of a squadron of ships of war and steamers, which they keep upon the coast for its protection. The British in Newfoundland have to enter into competition with their foreign rivals against such unequal odds. Is it too much, under such circumstances, to ask a loan of forty thousand pounds for a few years, to enable her Majesty's loyal subjects in Newfoundland to sustain themselves, and preserve a portion of this valuable trade and fishery, to prevent its falling entirely into the hands of the French and Americans. Your Lordship has already given so many practical proofs of your anxious desire to promote the interests of all the Colonies, and Newfoundland in particular, in giving, in 1832, the greatest of all boons, Free British Institutions, and after their suspension, for a short time, again establishing them on a more permanent footing in 1847. The slightest shadow of doubt cannot be entertained, no matter how the suggestions on the present occasion may be received, of your Lordship's anxious desire to promote the best interests of Newfoundland, in common with that of the other Colonies placed under your Lordship's superintendence.

As your Lordship is an advocate for the promotion of Agriculture in your own great country, you will no doubt patronize it in the Colonies. It has, as I have endeavoured to shew your Lordship, been sadly neglected in Newfoundland. It is the great misfortune of the Colony. It wants encouragement from the Government. Once fairly in motion, it will be found, as it was stated by Lord STANLEY, at an Agricultural Meeting at Liverpool, in reference to the cultivation of the English soil, the same words may be used in reference to Newfoundland: "That there is no bank in the whole country, no commercial speculation, no investment so safe, so sure, so profitable,"

as that in which even borrowed capital may be engaged, by investing under the ground of your own soil."

The subject altogether is every way worthy the attention of the parent Government. It would be wise in reference to Newfoundland to follow the advice of the eloquent and philosophical historian of the settlements in the East and West Indies:

"But the wisdom of Legislation will chiefly appear in the distribution of property. It is a general rule which obtains in all countries, that when a Colony is founded, an extent of land be given to every person sufficient for the maintenance of a family; more should be given to those who have abilities to make the necessary advances towards improvement, and some should be reserved for posterity, or for additional settlers, with which the Colony may in time be augmented.

"Everything, indeed, depends upon and arises from the cultivation of land. It forms the internal strength of states, and occasions riches to circulate into them from without. Every power which comes from any other source is artificial and precarious, either considered in a natural or moral light. Industry and commerce, which do not directly affect the agriculture of a country, are in the power of foreign nations, who may either dispute these advantages through emulation, or deprive the country of them through envy. This may be effected either by establishing the same branch of industry among themselves, or by suppressing the exportation of their own unwrought materials, or the importation of those materials when manufactured. But a country well cultivated occasions an increase of population, and riches are the natural consequence of that increase. This is not the teeth which the dragon sows, to bring forth soldiers to destroy each other. It is the milk of Juno which peoples the heavens with an innumerable multitude of stars."—*Abbe Raynal*.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

With the highest respect,

Your Lordship's humble

And obedient servant,

PA TRICK MORRIS.

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